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THE LIFE OF
SIR HARRY PARKES

K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

SOMETIME HER MAJESTY'S MINISTER TO

CHINA & JAPAN

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY

TO

JAPAN
By F. V. DICKINS

CHINA
By S. LANE-POOLE

WITH A MAP

London
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PREFACE TO PART II

In the preparation of the following eighteen chapters a different plan has of necessity been followed from that adopted in the first volume. It has only been partially possible to tell the story of Sir Harry Parkes' career in Japan in his own words. His despatches, with a few trifling exceptions, are available only for some eighteen months out of a period of service extending over eighteen years; and so absorbed and interested was he in his work, down to the minutest details, that he had scarcely any time for private correspondence; even his letters to Lady Parkes were almost always written at the last moment and barely saved the mail. Hence the following pages afford only a scanty picture of the man as distinct from the minister, and are too often rather historical than biographical in character. But when Sir Harry Parkes arrived in Japan he was thirty-seven years of age, and his habit of thought and theory of life were completely formed; while the history of his diplomacy in Japan is after all nothing less than the history of Japan itself. To show what the work was that he accomplished it was necessary to explain the conditions under which it was attempted—the political, social, and moral state of Old Japan, the main phases of the transition period, and the principal stages of the domestic evolution of New Japan.

If in endeavouring thus to elucidate his career and enable those who have no special knowledge of Japanese affairs justly to appreciate its greatness, I seem to have given more prominence sometimes to the biographer than to his subject, I can only plead that there is very little in this volume which is not founded upon Sir Harry's own despatches, notes, memoranda, and drafts; though of course the full responsibility for every statement and opinion is my own.

So far as the scanty leisure my official duties have left me allowed, I have thus tried to give as full and faithful a presentment of Sir Harry's life in Japan and of his work there and in Korea as the far from copious materials at my disposal have permitted. From Sir Rutherford Alcock, sometime Sir Harry Parkes' chief, and previously Minister to Japan and to China, I have received the most cordial aid and counsel at every stage of my labours. To Mr Satow, now Minister at Tangier; to Mr W. G. Aston, formerly Japanese Secretary to H.M. Legation in Japan; to Mr Freeman-Mitford, M.P.; and to Baron von Siebold, I have to express my heartiest thanks for the constant kindness with which they have responded to my requests —sometimes I fear entailing much labour and research— for assistance in putting together these memorials of their former chief. To Mr Y. Uchida, of H.I.J.M.'s Legation in London, I have had constant recourse for information, always most kindly and courteously given. In particular I have to thank him for much of the information contained in the notices I have added in the Appendix of the great Japanese statesmen of the Revolution. To Mr Arthur Winstanley, sometime President of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce, and to Mr Chamberlain— need I say it?—a deep debt of gratitude is owing.

Without the ready assistance of Mr Angier, of the *London and China Telegraph* (whose father, well known to all old China residents, was a valued friend of Sir Harry Parkes), who placed all his files unreservedly at my disposal, a great part of this volume could not have been written. It has not been merely to the chronicles of the Far East contained in that able publication that I have constantly had recourse; the leaders on Far Eastern politics I have often found of even greater value. To my friend and kindly Editor I am indebted for many valuable suggestions and for the counsels of a long literary experience. Lastly, to Sir Harry Parkes' sister, Mrs Lockhart, and to his sister-in-law, Miss Plumer, I have never appealed for advice in vain; and those only who are familiar with biographical work know what is involved in aid of that character.

FRED[K] VICTOR DICKINS

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
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PART II—JAPAN

1865–1883

By F. V. DICKINS

CHAPTER XXII

OLD JAPAN

SIR HARRY PARKES arrived at Nagasaki in H.M.S. *Leopard* on the morning of the 24th day of June 1865. He had never before set foot on the soil of Dai Nippon.[1] At once he had to confront the double aspect of Japanese opinion on the question of foreign intercourse. A few days previously a native ruffian had illustrated one aspect by running through the streets of the settlement with a naked sword in his hand, slashing at every foreigner he met with. After wounding several Chinamen and a British sailor he had managed to escape, and the new Minister's first duty was to remonstrate with the Governor upon the delay that had occurred in arresting the offender, who was a well-known resident of a neighbouring village, and owed allegiance to no hostile or influential daimio. The incident was relieved by an event of a more agreeable character, suggestive of the better, and, at bottom, stronger section of such public opinion as then existed in Japan. A number of *kerai* or higher retainers of some of the

[1] 'Great Japan.' *Nippon* is the Sinico-Japanese, just as *Japan* is the western pronunciation of the Chinese name *Jihpên*—'sunsource,' 'orient.' Throughout this volume the spelling of Japanese words is modernized (save in a few instances). The long '*ō*'—a specially important vowel in Sinico-Japanese words—is so marked, save in such words as have become common in English books, as *daimio*, *shogun*, and the like. Most titles, many place-names, most mountain names, and a few river names, as well as a vast number of words, are Sinico-Japanese, that is pure Chinese vocables (or compounds of these) pronounced *à-ponicè*.

greater daimios, who happened to be in Nagasaki at the time, requested an interview with the British Minister, which was readily accorded, and in the course of an interesting conversation declared that their princes and clans were earnestly desirous of a much freer admission to the advantages of foreign intercourse and commerce than the Shogun's[1] Government had been, so far, willing to permit.

A few weeks later (18th July) Sir Harry Parkes landed on the English or eastern *hatoba* or jetty at Yokohama. The writer was present on the occasion, and well remembers the alert figure, vigilant questioning face, and quick step of the consular officer, concerning whom General Sir Charles van Straubenzee wrote in 1859 to Lord Elgin, 'his energy is untiring, never sparing himself in any way; personal danger and personal comfort were never thought of when he could in any way advance the public service.' Truer words were never written, as the whole career of the man whose portrayal is attempted in these pages abundantly proved. But to enable the reader to appreciate, to understand even, what was the work Sir Harry Parkes had to do in Japan, and what meed of praise he merits from his countrymen—aye and from the people of Japan too—for the manner in which that work was achieved, a somewhat detailed sketch of the political and social conditions and habits of thought of the most interesting of far-eastern peoples during the closing years of the Shogunate is absolutely necessary. Recent researches, fortunately, make it possible to put together at least the elements of such a picture of Old Japan as shall render, if far from fully yet truthfully, the main features of a society that Tokugawa rule had isolated from the rest of the world during the long period of two hundred and fifty years.

[1] Tycoon (Taikun) and Shogun are synonymous. The family name of the Shoguns from Iyeyasu downwards was Tokugawa, and their government is often referred to as the Bakufu. Explanations of these terms will be found in the following pages.

In his very readable but not altogether trustworthy work, *The Mikado's Empire*, Mr Griffis remarks :—

> To the English was reserved a quiet victory and a mighty discovery, second to none achieved on the soil of the mysterious islands. English scholarship first discovered the true source of power, exposed the counterfeit government in Yedo, read the riddle of ages, and rent the veil that so long hid the truth. It was the English Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, who first risked his life to find the truth ; stripped the Shogun of his fictitious title of 'Majesty,' asked for at home, obtained, and presented credentials to the Mikado, the sovereign of Japan ; recognized the new National Government, and thus laid the foundations of true diplomacy in Japan.

The English Minister was much too familiar with the history of China and Japan to have come to such conclusions as are suggested in the above passage. No such unification, political or social, ever took place, or was aimed at, or even dreamt of in Old Japan as was effected in China under Shi Hwangti more than two hundred years before the Christian era. The Mikado was originally but *primus inter pares* among the chiefs of the immigrant or migrant hordes that drove the Ainu aborigines from the great Osaka plain to the shelter of the surrounding hills some time probably during the first or second century.[1] At no period before 1868 did the Imperial writ—to use a Western expression—run from Shimonoseki to Sendai, from Nambu to Nagasaki. It may be doubted whether at any time, at all events since the rise to power of the Fujiwara family, those precursors of the Shoguns, the Heavenly Ruler (Tennō) exercised more than a fitful and intermittent sway beyond, perhaps even within, the limits of the Go Kinai or Five Home Provinces. He was, almost always, the mere puppet and creature of some clique or

[1] This statement is not historically accurate. At the beginning of the Christian era it is not improbable that the Osaka plain was already in part held by tribes of Japanese or kindred race. The reader should consult Mr Aston's valuable paper on early Japanese History in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xvi. pt. 1.

party of tribal or clan chiefs, or court nobles their descendants, or military adventurers, the daimios or feudal barons of later days. At a very early period outside the capital, and finally even within it, the Mikado was a name rather than a reality, a Presence, unseen, at once venerated and neglected. The so-called Restoration of 1868 has been completely misunderstood by most recent writers on Japan; it was no Restoration but a Revolution that gave the Mikado a power he had never previously possessed, and in overthrowing the Tokugawa dynasty put an end to the only overlordship Japan had ever known. But that overlordship, real as it was, was exercised within very narrow limits and was far from being the equivalent of the feudal sovereignties of medieval Europe. The system was perfected by Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty, early in the seventeenth century, and for 250 years Japan rested from strife. But the daimios preserved their rights of jurisdiction and self-government, the right of private war excepted. Of the eight provinces (known as the Kwanto) lying east of the Hakoné pass the Tokugawa princes were immediate lords, of the remainder of the 265 daimiates or petty states of which Old Japan was made up they were overlords.[1] Of the Kwanto the government and administration were in their hands, and many of the smaller daimiates were more or less under their direct control. Over the eighteen great daimios or *kokushiu*, such as the daimios of Satsuma and Chōshiu, their authority was much less extensive. Nevertheless, after a fashion and apparently with no great reluctance, the Tokugawa overlordship was recognized from one end of Japan to the other, and upon sufficient occasion and within certain limits could be exercised in several ways. Many of the daimios possessed small fiefs in different provinces in respect of which they were more or less at the mercy of the Shogun. In addition all were obliged to attend at the accession of a new Shogun to take the oath of allegiance and to reside alternately at their country

[1] See Appendix (A).

castles and their *yashikis* or feudal mansions in Yedo, where their families were retained as hostages to secure the good behaviour not only of the daimios themselves but of their clans. The whole fief might be confiscated for misgovernment, which was always presumed when anything like a local rebellion broke out—no infrequent occurrence; —for other delinquencies committed by the daimio himself or his government he might be put under arrest in his own castle or mansion, or in that of a relative or other daimio—or he might be compelled to exchange his fief for a distant and inferior one. If the daimio died by violence outside his own *yashiki*, the clan suffered forfeiture as guilty of disloyalty and neglect. These punishments were often inflicted up to the close of the Shogunate. *Harakiri*, again, or disembowelment, might be enjoined, but such a sentence seems rarely if ever to have been passed upon other than *fudai* or direct vassals of the Shogun. The Shogun does not appear to have possessed any regular executive means of enforcing these punishments out of his own domains, nevertheless his commands were usually obeyed, for *chiushin* or loyal obedience was a prominent feature of old Japanese society, though apparently exhibited almost as readily towards the occupant *de facto* of a daimiate as towards the lord by right of blood-descent. In older times this feeling led to extraordinary outbursts of loyal self-slaughter. A mound at Kamakura still bears the name of the place where the 880 *shi* or *samurai* committed *harakiri*, and in one of the lives of the later of the only two founders of Buddhist sects Japan can boast of, Nichiren,[1] the pathetic story may still be read of the great *harakiri* that closed the rebellion of Miura Yasumura in Hoji (A.D. 1247-1248):—'They stood together in front of the tablet of Yoritomo,[2] and reciting their *nembuts* (Buddhist prayer) in a loud voice, first of all Yasumura,

[1] The other was Shinran Shōnin, who founded the Monto sect in the early part of the thirteenth century.

[2] The first dynastic Shogun.

formerly Lord of Wakasa, then 276 of his clan and more than 220 of his household, at the same moment ripped up their bellies, and died upon one pillow. . . . Alas what a day was this! A house renowned in the Kwanto for military prowess left like summer grass not even the vestige of a dream behind, for ever extinguished in death.'

The whole system was loosely knit together by the Court at Kioto, where the authority of the Mikado and the Court nobles (*kugé*), who represented his original *gesyth*, had been real only during the infancy of the State, when he was merely the most powerful among a number of tribal chiefs.

At a very early period the Heaven-Child (Tenshi), Heaven-Ruler (Tennō), or the Innermost Place (Dairi), as the Mikado was variously called, became a puppet and a nonentity, but the authority attached to the office but detached from the person of the sovereign endured through the veneration of the people, and was the object of incessant intrigue among the daimios or their representatives who thronged the courts and galleries of the Exalted Place. The Shogun had his *Shoshidai* or Resident at the Kioto Court, whose business it was by any and every means to keep up his master's influence, and above all to exclude the greater daimios from the guardianship of the Mikado's person. During the whole of Japanese history the reverence for the Sun-child's person seems never to have been lost. He was often, indeed usually, compelled to abdicate while quite young and retire into a monastery, but, even during such epochs of strife and violence as characterized the earlier Shogunate, he appears to have been always exempt from any kind of personal risk. In their turn the successors of the first Shogun, Yoritomo, soon fell under a tutelage —that of the Hōjō family—similar to what ages before had deprived the Mikado of such authority as he possessed; and the Yedo Government did not long escape the common fate of the ruling dynasties of Japan. The first three and the eighth of the Tokugawa line per-

sonally exercised, it is true, the authority attached to their office, but of the remaining eleven Shoguns of the Tokugawa house not one was much more than a puppet in the hands or the Gorōjiu (*lit.* Exalted Senate) or Grand Council of State. This body consisted of not more than four or five members and formed the real government of the country, exercising all the rights of lordship and overlordship that pertained to the Shogunate. Subordinate to the Grand Council was that of the Wakadoshiyori (young elders) or Junior Council, as Professor Wigmore aptly renders the term. An intricate bureaucracy completed the central administration, the whole system being so arranged that no official from the highest to the lowest was free from an ever present and, so to speak, collateral supervision and control. There was in addition a distinct class of officials known as *metsuké* (eye-appliers), charged with the duty of making this control complete. Such a censorship, for it was nothing else, has been commonly described as a kind of espionage peculiar to Japan, but, in fact, it was exercised as publicly as any other administrative function. Espionage there was, and of a most searching character, but it was the work of an ordinary political police.

The Shogun was always a scion of one of the Three Exalted Families (Go San-ke), Kii, Owari and Mito; the Tairō or Regent, who acted for the Shogun during his minority, could only be taken from one of the four families of Ii, Honda, Sakakibara, and Sakai [1]—vulgarly known as the Four Heaven-Kings of Buddhism—and the members of the Gorōjiu were selected, or, rather, co-opted from the *fudai* daimios or feudatories of the Tokugawa house.

The population of Japan taken as a whole was divided into seven classes—the *kugé* or Court nobility,

[1] It seems doubtful whether Mito could legally furnish a successor to the Shogun, and none was ever chosen from the Owari family. Nor is it by any means certain that the four families had any right to elect a Tairō. The Shogun might also be chosen from the families of Shimizu, Tayasu, and Hitotsubashi. It was as the adopted son of a Hitotsubashi that Keiki, the last of the Tokugawa Shoguns, was raised to that dignity.

who had rank but neither prestige, property, nor power; the *buké* or samurai, consisting of the territorial lords and their retainers, the creations of Yoritomo and his successors,—the peasants, the artisans, the merchants and the outcasts. The priests, both Shinto and Buddhist, formed a class apart. The *buké* alone possessed any political power, and among the *buké* alone could political opinion be formed or find expression. Every samurai (*lit.* server, esquire, *knecht*) was a lord if he possessed land assessed as producing not less than 10,000 *koku* of rice yearly. Of such a chief the superior retainers (*kerai*) would number, perhaps, one hundred, and his war contingent in the middle of the seventeenth century would be about 200 men, whom he was expected to equip, support, and pay. The eighteen great daimios held their fiefs, it is doubtfully asserted, of the Mikado, but the Mikado's authority was, practically, vested as we have seen in the *buké* party or faction dominant at Kioto for the time being—consisting usually, during the Tokugawa period, of *fudai* barons or *tozama* (*i.e.* other than *fudai*), daimios well affected towards the Eastern Court.

With regard to the local administration of the eight Kwanto provinces which formed the Tokugawa domain it suffices for present purposes to state that the chief provincial officer was the Daikwan or deputy, a sort of hereditary 'intendant,' charged with the collection of the revenue (paid almost wholly in rice) and the settlement of local disputes, if these could not be determined by the village headmen. The latter would be mainly chosen from among the heads of the five-family groups (Go-nin Gumi), in which all *heimin*[1] (level-men or commoners) were registered, and between these groups—headmen and the *daikwan*—came the *nanushi* or *shōya*, the headmen of the village or rather of the village district. The members of the family were all subject to its head, and yet were responsible for him as he was for them, as the group-

[1] The word, though of post-revolutionary coinage, is of convenient application here.

headmen were for the family-fathers, and the *nanushi* and *daikwan* in their turn for all the groups and individuals below them. In the same way the daimios were responsible to the Shogun, the Shogun to the Mikado, and the Mikado himself to the gods, so far as he was a Shintoist, to Heaven so far as he was a Confucianist. Such an organization looks perfect on paper, but in practice it could not have worked well. There were vast numbers of landless, clanless, and familyless men who stood outside of the system altogether and were a constant source of trouble, while the system was one that almost annihilated freedom of action on the part of the individual, and completely arrested the social and political development of the people. At the same time it permitted and even fostered a peculiarly galling kind of oppression, the cumulative oppression of an ascending series of masters. Under it tyranny of a most vexatious and merciless character was not only possible but common; a proof of this is to be found in the constant riots that disturbed the peace of the daimiates—all the chronicles are full of instances of punishment inflicted upon daimios for misgovernment[1]—and in the numerous popular stories which turn upon acts of oppression, of which a capital example may be read in Mr Freeman-Mitford's charming *Tales of Old Japan*.

In the daimiates probably much the same system of government obtained as in the Tokugawa domain, which was indeed nothing more than a magnified daimiate.

The daimio himself, like the Mikado and the Shogun, usually led a secluded and inactive life, and possessed little, if any, personal power. His fief was ruled and administered by *karō* or councillors—often themselves mere hereditary puppets of much lower officials—assisted by a more or less elaborate hierarchy of subordinates formed on the model of the central Tokugawa system.

[1] In the Kindai Geppiō (Monthly Annals) scarcely a month is unmarked by punishment of some kind inflicted upon a daimio or some of his officers on account of troubles in the clan.

This detachment of power from rank and office was the bane of Old Japan, and was responsible for the faction and intrigue everywhere dominant from the Exalted Place down to the *yashiki* of the smallest baron.

If things went wrong in a provincial government the Shogun could interfere, not so much to set wrong right, as to punish the daimio by confiscation, seclusion, compulsory exchange of fief or otherwise, and his officers by death if not anticipated by *harakiri*. Of this jurisdiction, however, the exercise was not always easy or safe, and the Shogun's interference, though not absolutely infrequent, was relatively rare. In this enforced abstinence probably is to be found the explanation of the apparent 'quietism' which Professor Wigmore regards as characteristic of Old Japan.[1] It was merely that official action was always directed towards avoiding the necessity of a compulsion which might become both expensive and perilous to the central government, and was not usually easy of exercise in subordinate grades of authority. In fact, in most cases, the Shogun had to rely upon persuasion and an appeal to the sentiment of feudal loyalty which was extremely strong in the Japan that ended with the year 1868.

The samurai lived for the most part in a condition of perfect idleness, upon a bare pittance, the amount of which depended on the rice crop, and ultimately, as they and their lords well knew, upon the continued peaceful labour of the peasant. Their lot was in reality far harder than that of the farmer, artisan, or trader. They had nothing to look forward to, and were burdened by an intolerably elaborate code of ceremonial, any infringement of which exposed them to severe punishment. To the personal liberty of action of which the despised *heimin* enjoyed a large share they were entire strangers. Hence their readiness, when the opportunity came, to overturn the old order of things is intelligible enough.

[1] See his valuable essays on old Japanese law in the Supplement to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xx.

Throughout the whole of the so-called Empire strife and intrigue reigned supreme. The Grand Council was in a state of continual ferment, the Council of every clan suffered from a like unrest. Authority inhered in no person, in no institution that possessed the quality of stability; loose and detached, it was bandied from clique to clique at the mercy of the most cunning and the least scrupulous. Within the body of the samurai a peculiar anarchy prevailed, and, scarcely restrained by public opinion, was only in a measure mitigated by a minute code of usage and ceremonial which was the ordinary samurai's sole code of ethics. Old Japan, a small state, where Home Rule was pushed to its furthest extreme, and the bond of union was a feeble fiction made the basis of an impersonal authority driven in every direction by the currents of intrigue, was kept together by a sort of equilibrium of warring internal forces that proved totally unable to withstand any impact from without. When that impact came Old Japan ceased to be, almost at once, and New Japan came into existence, of whose political fate the next few decades will probably render some forecast possible.

Of the commonalty but little need be said. The people were scarcely items, politically speaking, in Old Japan. Their business was to grow, make, carry, multiply, and—above all—pay taxes.

Taxation, curiously enough, was the foundation, the *corpus* indeed, of such commerce as existed. Japan had of course no foreign trade, but along the coasts of the three islands there was a ceaseless movement of produce. Nine-tenths of Japanese trade consisted in moving rice from places where there was a surplus to places where there was a deficiency of that staple, and in moving it to and from the great central and provincial granaries. Rice does not store well, does not support transit well, and is a bulky and expensive article to carry about. The assessment, that is the total produce of the Tokugawa domain, has been estimated at eight millions of

koku.[1] Probably not more than a third of this found its way into the Shogun's *kura* or storehouses, the remainder of the tax-rice which may have been one-half of the assessment—the proportion whereof to the actual average production it is difficult to ascertain—was lost or spoiled in transit, or consumed as freight. Hence we can understand the eagerness with which, in the sixties, the daimios bought foreign steamers, and the immense prices they gave for them in the hope of reducing the enormous cost and loss incurred in native transport by sea or land. We can understand, too, their jealousy of the Shogun's monopoly of foreign trade, and the customs-duties incident thereto, which gave so powerful an impetus to the movement against the Bakufu.[2]

But there were other causes of that movement, originating within the samurai class, which require a brief notice. Apart from the Buddhist priesthood, whose political influence scarcely survived the sixteenth century, the *buké* and *kugé* were the only divisions of Japanese society in which literature or philosophy could be cultivated. To the well-educated Japanese of the Tokugawa era (1600-1868) the polemics of Buddhism presented no attraction, and he was as little drawn to the curious cosmical and ethical theories propounded by the Shinto revivalists of the close of the last century.[3] But for the unimaginative, impersonal, and terribly matter-of-fact Japanese mind [4]—the product of history and circumstances, it may be, rather than of any innate or racial disability—

[1] A *koku* is nearly five bushels—about one-sixth of a ton measurement. Some account of the *koku* and its value and of the revenue and trade in rice will be found in the Appendix (B).

[2] This was the common designation of the Shogun's government. The word (*lit.* curtain-rule) originally meant the headquarters of an army on the march, which was surrounded by a sort of horizontally striped curtain of cotton cloth, as may be seen represented in many Japanese books and *makimono* or illuminated rolls.

[3] See Mr SATOW'S valuable account in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. iii.

[4] According to Mr Lefcadio Hearn, the Japanese mind is endowed with ineffable qualities, artistic, imaginative, and ethical, which the thing Europeans call their mind can form no conception of. See his amusing article—written in all earnestness and containing a good deal of truth—in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December 1893.

Confucianism had a special charm. Confucianism, however, is by no means identical with the system of Confucius. The latter is scarcely a philosophy at all, it is a vague code dealing mainly with family and civic conduct and resting ultimately upon the obedience of all, each in his degree, to God or Heaven as a perfectly benevolent Being or Existence. Confucianism, founded in medieval China by Ch'eng and Chuhi (in Sinico-Japanese *Teishu*), was an entirely new system more or less tinged with Taoist and Buddhist notions of the cosmos material and moral, and supported by forced and usually absurd interpretations of the Chinese classics, after a fashion reminding one of the use made by the schoolmen of medieval Europe of the Aristotelian writings and by certain Christian sects of the Bible. To explain the course of public opinion at the time of the advent of foreigners to Japan, some brief account of such philosophical and moral notions as governed it is necessary.

According to the *Teishu* system then, the cosmos originated out of the motions of an original principle (*taikioku*, the grand unconditioned, *lit.* the main ridge-pole of a house), which gave birth to the positive (so-called male) and negative or rather passive (so-called female) existences. The influence (*ki* or breath) of the positive upon the passive material in conformity with order (*ri*) produced the myriads of things which constitute the universe. In the same way the Emperor may be regarded as a political *taikioku*, his authority the positive and the land and people the passive materials out of which the multiform state was constructed. This more purely materialistic form of Confucianism was opposed by the quasi-idealism of Ōyōmei (Chinese Wang Showjen or W. Yangming [1]), who referred everything to the mind or soul of man, the proper and sufficient manifestations of which, duly harmonized, constituted virtue, so that knowledge (which had relation to the apparently external

[1] Who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See MAYER'S *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 246.

world) and morality (which was similarly concerned with the inner *ego*) were ultimately one and the same. The doctrines of Ōyōmei were proscribed by the Bakufu as favouring introspection and individualism ; and, in fact, it was the study of this system which led to the rising of Ōshiwo Heihachirō, known as the Osaka insurrection of 1839.[1]

Both these systems propounded the fundamental goodness of human nature ; man had only to return to it, shaking off the corruption of the world or of the *ego* to attain *honnen* or original virtue—at bottom a Buddhist notion. The Ancient Learning (*Ko-gaku*), on the contrary, asserted that man was a mixture of good and evil—it was a sort of common-sense philosophy—and could attain such goodness as his particular nature was capable of only through habit and mental discipline.

Teishu Confucianism was, so to speak, the established philosophy[2] of the Bakufu period, but as the eighteenth century waned it was replaced more and more by the Ancient Learning and by the more modern philosophy of China which, like the Ancient Learning, professed to be based upon a new study of the classics. Hence Confucianism, by an evolution of which the course has not yet been fully studied, gradually assumed an attitude which was regarded as hostile by the Tokugawa Government, chiefly, perhaps, through the dislike of innovation incident to that natural conservatism which sticks to the not long past. For, merely verbal though all these philosophies were, the later forms had attractions for the more active spirits of the time, who had scarcely any other novelty to serve them as pabulum. The tendencies thus originated no doubt alarmed the official upholders of the older systems, though they found expression not so much in political action as in the composition of the histories produced during the last half century or more

[1] See Dr KNOX's very interesting and learned papers on Japanese philosophy, together with the acute and valuable comments of Mr HAGA and Mr INOUYÉ in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. XX. pt. I.

[2] An expression borrowed from Dr Knox.

of Bakufu rule, which were without exception of a strongly anti-Bakufu character. They were composed, indeed, expressly to show the superiority of latter-day Confucianism to the hybrid religious and philosophical principles upon which contemporary society rested. Every page almost of the *Nihon Gwaishi* (*History of Japan*), published in 1827, which Mr Satow terms 'the chief source from which Japanese men of education derived their notions of the history of their own country,'[1] bears witness to the accuracy of the above remark. These histories had a great share in the formation of the only public opinion that existed—that of the samurai class—and their influence was greatly promoted by the Shinto revivalism of the latter decades of the eighteenth century. The Shinto scholars, of whom Mabuchi, Motöori, and Hirata were the principal, rejected even Confucianism, and longed for a return to those primitive times when the Mikado was a reality, and no hest but his was listened to throughout the land. With this school the scholars of the Mito clan, though Shushiists, allied themselves, and vigorously upheld the rights of the Mikado. It was strange, as Mr Haga acutely observes, that the Tokugawa rule should be greatly shaken, if not actually overthrown by the very doctrine (or rather its extension) which generations of Shoguns and their ministers had encouraged. 'It is,' he concludes, 'perhaps still more remarkable to see the Mito clan, under many able and active chiefs, become the centre of the *Kinnō* or Mikadoist movement that was to result in the overthrow of the Tokugawa family of which it was itself a branch.'[2] Such a

[1] The samurai of a certain rank was taught to read the *Gwaishi*, one or two of the ancient *monogatari* or romances, and the Chinese classics—and was taught little or nothing else. See Appendix (E).

[2] An interesting account of the Mito clan is given by Mr Clement in the 18th and 19th volumes of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. The second Daimio of the clan, Mitsukuni, was not only a great patron of literature but himself an author. His great work, the *Dai Nihonshi*, or *History of Great Japan*, or *Great History of Japan*, treated the Shogunate as an usurpation, and, in Mr Satow's words, 'The real author of the movement which culminated in the revolution of 1868' was the grandson of the founder of the dynasty it overthrew.

result, it may be added, furnishes a striking instance of the destructive dissension and division which reigned in both the central and the provincial governments up to the very day almost of their total abolition.

Young Japan is scarcely Confucianist. The Chinese script has been retained but not much else that is Chinese. Mill and Spencer have replaced Tei and Shu. One of the last of the Shushiists was Ohashi Junzō, who died in 1862, after repeated torturings, as an alleged accomplice in the attack upon Ando Tsushima no Kami. In 1857 he had published a passionate diatribe against Western men and manners. He uses no arguments—to the Far East the very notion of reasoning seems unknown—but disposes of foreigners as 'mere brutes,' upon the sole ground that they are (as he supposes) ignorant of Chinese philosophy. By the irony of fate his two grand-daughters have fully accepted the civilization he abhorred, and are baptized Christians, a consummation that would have made the old Confucianist turn in his grave. Sinico-Japanese philosophy, *quâ* philosophy, is altogether worthless. It has no science, no psychology, no logic. It is nothing more than a barren plagiarism, a collection of logomachies without substance. The Japanese samurai and the Chinese literati are designated by the same ideograph, but they have nothing else in common. The Celestial despised militarism, the subject of the Sun-child cared for little else. Much of the literature of Japan is interesting and even important. But not as literature properly so termed. The philosophy of Japan is much in the same plight. At best it restates the philosophy of China, beyond the narrow limits of which the mind of Old Japan scarcely seems to have shown any desire to peer. The explanation of this apparent lack of intelligent curiosity is to be found partly in the nature of Chinese philosophy itself, partly in the circumstances of Japanese history. It must always be remembered that Old Japan had no Judea to teach her religion, no Greece to teach her culture, no Rome to teach her political science.

CHAPTER XXIII

JAPAN IN THE EARLY SIXTIES

WHEN Sir Harry Parkes arrived in Japan the beginning of the end of the Tokugawa *régime* was looming not indistinctly into view. Of the many difficult questions with which the new Minister found himself confronted by far the most arduous and much the most important was that of the ratification of the Treaties by the Mikado. That the Shogun possessed of right as well as in fact the power of making the Treaties there can be no manner of doubt. In 1858 there was, indeed, no other Japanese authority who could even be approached on the subject. All the acts of the Japanese state, inclusive of the decrees against Christianity and of the very decree of isolation itself, during the earlier Shogunate and during the whole of Tokugawa period, were the acts of the Shogun alone; neither Mikado nor Daimio had any concern with them. The various decrees that followed upon the alarm caused by the Russian descents upon the northern islands at the beginning of the present century proceeded equally from the Shogun and his Ministers. The contention of the Imperial or Mikadoist party that the isolation of the 'holy country' was a fundamental law of the Empire was altogether baseless. No such law, no such custom even, had ever existed or been dreamt of in Japan before the close of the fourth decade of the seventeenth century. During the sixteenth and nearly half of the following century foreigners were freely admitted into

Japan, and Japanese adventurers roamed at will over the seas and lands of the Far East. They were found in Siam and in Goa, Japanese soldiers were among the victims of the Amboyna massacre in 1613, and a celebrated Japanese filibuster Yamada has left his own narrative of his doings in Formosa during the Dutch supremacy in that island. Nor was a policy of isolation enjoined either by the religion or by the philosophy of Japan.

Not only therefore was the Shogun fully justified in undoing the work of his ancestor, as contrary to the spirit of the Japanese people and altogether unratified by the Mikado, but before he took this step, in view of some differences of opinion which existed among the members of his own council on the subject of the Treaties, he did actually obtain the Mikado's consent to the new policy, as the author of the '*Dream of Genji*,'[1] though a bitter opponent of the Bakufu, is obliged to admit. Afterwards, it is true, the Mikado was persuaded to send a missive to the Shogun to the effect that the latter ought to take the opinion of the country, that is of the *buké* (territorial nobility and gentry) and *kugé* (court nobility), on the subject of the Treaties, and that in making them care should be taken that no ports were opened in the neighbourhood of the capital.[2] Such a missive was by implication nothing less than a qualified approval. At this juncture, before the *buké* and *kugé* could be duly consulted —and there existed no constitutional rule or precedent requiring the Shogun to consult with them generally on any subject whatever—the Yedo court was terrorized by the American envoy Townsend Harris into compliance

[1] *A History of Japan between* 1854 *and* 1864, translated by E. M. Satow, C.M.G., now H.M. Minister to Morocco. He was appointed student interpreter in Japan in 1861, afterwards became Japanese Secretary with local rank as second secretary (1876) and was made a C.M.G. in 1883. The extent and value of his researches as a Japanese scholar are too well known to need any illustration here. His numerous papers will be found in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.*

[2] See *Parl. Papers*, No. 1 (1865), Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan. (The Blue Books on Japan will be referred to as Blue Book, Japan, with addition of number and date and any *special* title.)

with his demands. That astute diplomatist made, in the words of Admiral Sir James Hope, an 'adroit use of the (then recent) success of the English and French forces in China,'[1] warning the Shogun of the dire consequences likely to result from a persistence in the policy of exclusion.[2] The action of the American envoy was crafty but not wise. At that time the prestige of the Shogun was scarcely impaired, and the Regent Ii Kamon no Kami[3] (for the Shogun had died during the negotiations and his successor was a minor), a man of intelligence and courage, would have known, had time been afforded him, how to smooth over difficulties at Kioto and bring the Imperial Court into harmony with his own views. It is not too much to say that to Harris' ill-advised and selfish policy were due many of the troubles that attended the emergence of Japan from her long isolation.

It was not, however, hatred of the foreigner so much as jealousy of the Yedo Court that gave rise to, or at least accentuated, the long duel between the West and

[1] Blue Book, Japan, July-Nov. (1861), p. 70.

[2] See the extract given a few pages further on from Sir R. Alcock's note enclosed in his despatch of 31st January 1861 of a conference held at Yedo between the foreign representatives a day or two previously. In a letter from Mr Stevens to Mr Evarts dated 25th March 1879 (*United States Diplomatic Correspondence*) is a curious summary taken from a native account of the arguments used by Mr Harris in his negotiations with Hotta Bitchiu no Kami. It was the uniform custom of the United States, the American envoy is represented as saying, not to annex any country by mere force of arms; but England and France would take possession of China with whom they were then at war. The Japanese therefore had better be on their guard and take proper care. It was also the intention of England to force opium upon Japan, for crimes committed under the influence of which a thousand men were executed every year in China. American envoys were very different from those of other countries and might be trusted. Siam had done so and thus escaped subjugation by England. India had been conquered by England for want of proper treaties, a fate which should be a warning to Japan whom America would gladly furnish with warships and military officers. The Governor of Hongkong was preparing to visit Japan with a fleet of fifty ships and if unsuccessful in making a treaty would at once commence war. Hence no time should be lost in making a treaty with America. The substance of this account is confirmed by the author of the *Dream of Genji*, who says that the Americans threatened hostilities (*i.e.* the hostilities from the nations mentioned by Mr Harris) if their demands were not granted.

[3] Kamon no Kami was an empty Court title — Minister of the Palace Grounds and Buildings.

East which was to end ten years later in the destruction of a system that had endured for more than two centuries and a half. Foreigners were no novelty either to the central or to many of the provincial governments. As the native records show, during the previous twenty or thirty years numerous foreign ships had appeared off the coasts of Japan, and even entered its harbours, chiefly to procure wood and water, without harm resulting, save in a few isolated instances where the crews had behaved with some roughness. Lastly, as far back as 1854 Admiral Sir James Stirling had procured the opening of Hakodaté and Nagasaki to British vessels in want of supplies or repairs.

There were other influences at work, and the foreign policy of the Regent, who was personally obnoxious to a powerful political faction within the Tokugawa House itself, was made a pretext for a more active form being given to a long existent hostility. The western clans, especially the great Satsuma, had never very cordially accepted the Tokugawa overlordship. The Confucianist philosophy, as has already been shown, in alliance with revived Shintoism had weakened the allegiance of the Tokugawa *buké* themselves. The great Mito House, one of the three Exalted Families of Tokugawa lineage, from among whom alone could the Shogun be chosen, was bitterly hostile to the Regent, who, on the death of the Shogun Iyesada, upon grounds which were fully justified by the after-course of events, had raised a member of the Kishiu family to the vacant throne and rejected the Mito candidate.[1] Of Mito and Satsuma, of some other fiefs also, the daimios (or their guardians) were active politicians, but far more frequently the head of the clan was a mere puppet in the hands of his hereditary *karō* or councillors, who, in their turn, were not seldom secondary puppets of cliques or factions of quite inferior samurai. It is more than probable—the *Dream of Genji*, and the *Short History*

[1] Ii seems to have followed the accepted constitutional rule of giving effect to the nomination of the dying Shogun.

of Recent Times[1] make it indeed almost certain—that the principal fomenters of opposition to the Bakufu were clansmen of low rank, and clanless men of no rank, who in the concoction and handling of intrigues saw some chance of winning place and wealth, or at least the bare protection of retainership. The murders and outrages which stained the earlier years of Japanese intercourse with the West were not in truth, or at least were rarely, the expression of any honest dislike of the foreigner, but the work either of members of the clans, who merely desired to get the Bakufu into trouble, or of *rōnin*, landless, clanless, and often familyless men, who were still quasi-samurai, and were anxious to gain the favour of some person of influence by a deed which should at once smack of patriotism and embarrass the Shogun. The murder of Mr Richardson in 1862 was the act of an assassin belonging to the first category.[2] The crime was committed immediately after the Mikado had solemnly commanded the Shogun to 'expel foreigners,' and was the answer to the Shogun's contemptuous refusal of certain demands of the Satsuma chief. It is mentioned by the author of the *Dream* with a kind of rapture. They 'killed three of them (foreigners),' he writes; 'after this the military glory of the house of Shimazu shone more and more brightly, and Shimazu himself was praised by His Majesty for his great deeds.' That the murderers of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird in 1864 belonged to the second category most contemporary residents in Japan never doubted. The breach between the Western and Eastern courts grew wider as years went by. Ii Kamon

[1] *Kinsei Shiriaku*, translated, like the *Dream*, by Mr Satow.

[2] The murder of Richardson was wholly without excuse. He was riding with a party on the *Tōkaidō* (highway) in the direction of Yedo when the Satsuma procession was met. The party reined up and had turned round when the attack was made. No notice had been given of the procession. The Tōkaidō was then the only road where horse exercise could be taken. It was no uncommon thing to meet a daimio's cortège, and foreigners were not expected to dismount or do more than ride slowly by the side of the road. The Japanese have themselves erected a monument to the victim's memory.

no Kami was assassinated by Mito men in March 1859. No Tokugawa minister of equal ability came after him. Ando Tsushima no Kami, who, perhaps, was not greatly his inferior, was the object of a murderous attack in 1862. In October of the same year the obligatory residence of the daimios in Yedo was practically abolished. The great daimios were to live there one hundred days every three years, the lesser daimios and vassals somewhat oftener and longer, while the enforced residence of the families of the nobles was abolished altogether. The Shogunate never recovered from the blow it thus dealt itself, and the feebleness of Keiki or Hitotsubashi, the last of the Tokugawa Shoguns, who succeeded the creature of Ii Kamon no Kami in 1866, merely hastened its end.

Some extracts from the despatches of the time may here conveniently follow, not only as illustrative of the general course of events, but as leading up to the political situation at the moment when Sir Harry Parkes took up the duties of his post:—

Sir R. Alcock to Earl Russell Yedo, Jan. 31, 1861

> . . . When Mr Harris had nearly concluded his negotiations, he found an insurmountable barrier to its final completion. What was this? He was told that serious opposition existed among the great body of daimios to the policy such a Treaty would initiate; and that time must be allowed, and was essential, to get over this. So insuperable did this difficulty appear, that he had to acquiesce in delay, and actually returned to Simoda for a definite period, at the end of which time it was hoped the opposition might be diminished. In the meantime the allies captured the Taku forts, and from Tien-tsin dictated to the Emperor of China and his councillors their own terms. Instant news of this was brought over to Japan by an American frigate, and of the anticipated prompt departure of British and French squadrons with Plenipotentiaries, to negotiate a Treaty with Japan.
>
> Armed with this news, Mr Harris suddenly returned to Yedo, and induced the then existing Government

to conclude the Treaty, which wanted only the final act to complete it.

Within one month from that date, and before either Lord Elgin or Baron Gros could arrive, the reigning Tycoon had disappeared from the scene; a youth of fourteen or fifteen (not his son) had been elected from the Royal stock, under a Regency, and the whole of those concerned in the negotiations were disgraced and removed, even down to the subordinates; and in disgrace to this day they had remained. These were all facts of sufficient notoriety to admit of no question as to their general accuracy. What did they reveal?

1. That the governing class, consisting of the whole body of daimios in the Empire was divided, and that there were parties and political divisions among them.

2. That one of these was favourable to the great innovation of establishing foreign relations, either, because more advanced than the rest, they saw advantage to their country in such a course, or that the time had arrived when it was no longer possible to refuse; or possibly, moved by more personal considerations, connected with internal struggles between different parties for ascendancy, and in view of an impending or existing struggle, it may have seemed to them that by introducing a new element into the field of Japanese politics by alliances with foreign Powers, they might find strength in these allies and assistance.

3. That another, and as it proved in the end the most powerful, section were as evidently hostile to this policy, either from patriotic convictions, *or an insight into the game of their opponents for strengthening themselves*,[1] and by a sort of palace revolution drove them from their posts into disgrace and exile. . . .

In 1862 Sir R. Alcock returned to England, and

[1] The italics are (here as throughout, unless otherwise indicated) those of the present writer. The extract is part of a statement made by Sir R. Alcock at a Conference of the Foreign Representatives in Yedo, enclosed in his despatch.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale replaced him as Chargé d'Affaires. Towards the close of the year he received from Mr Consul Enslie, then stationed at Hakodaté, the translation of a very curious letter sent by a number of daimios to the Shogun, of which the portions now given shed abundant light upon the state of public opinion :—

Enclosure in despatch of Lieut.-Col. Neale to Earl Russell Yedo Dec. 3 1862

When you (the Shogun) consulted us about the new relations into which we were to enter with foreigners, you told us upon the authority of a certain Harisooh (Mr Harris, the American Minister) that the Treaty would give us plenty and abundance. Both you and Harisooh said that cotton would be sold for a mere nothing, and that silk and manufactured goods would not cost us anything. . . . You told us that our treasuries would always be open to receive the enormous riches which our intercourse with foreigners would procure us. It is an undeniable fact that our treasuries have continually been open ; but instead of receiving money, we have been called upon to sacrifice the little we possess.

You monopolize the import and export duties completely ; . . . if any protest against the course which is now pursued, they are instantly and mysteriously silenced for ever.

. . . Owing to the troubled state of the country, the presence of the daimios at Yedo was formerly highly necessary.

This is not the case at present, and still our Lords are travelling to and from the capital. The personal fatigue, vexation, and the expense of the immense retinue which always accompanies them, can no longer be supported. The time has come that these ruinous journeys should cease, and that the Lords of Japan declare themselves unable to defray the expenses which you impose upon them. . . .

You always assert that we are opposed to friendly intercourse with foreign nations ; but this is utterly false. We willingly consent to open the whole of

Japan if this step does not occasion expenses which surpass our means. We have not murdered our adherents who were favourably inclined towards the opening of Japan to foreigners.

You teach the young to despise and insult foreigners; and although you always tell us that the foreign nations are powerful, and greatly to be feared, a high functionary of the 'Tori' lately said that, with the exception of the Russians, all the foreigners could be insulted with impunity.

In March 1863 Consul Enslie sent his chief the translation of another important document addressed to the Shogun, and signed by eleven of the principal daimios, among whom were the daimios of Satsuma, Mito, Kuroda, Mori and Aizu. Their recognition of the constitutional right of the Shogun to exercise the fullest powers of government is noteworthy:—

We have to express our thanks for several acts lately passed by you, and for your plans for the future.

You felt the necessity of exonerating the daimios from the troublesome and expensive journeyings to Yedo; unfortunately the changes made by you are very imperfect, although you gave us excellent reasons which ought to have induced you to effect a complete change instead of adopting semi-measures. . . .

You also speak to us for the first time about some persons you have sent to the foreign nations. We do not approve of this mark of respect shown to people who might misinterpret your intentions and imagine that you endeavour to obtain the object in view by entreaty. It is an undeniable fact that the barbarians have gladly consented to your proposition never to open the ports which have not yet been opened, and to restrict their liberty and privileges in the ports already opened; they felt too delighted and too much honoured in receiving Japanese, who although not high-born, are respectable persons, and who must have given a lesson in politeness and diplomacy to those nations who are

not yet formed. . . . You unfortunately allow yourself to be fascinated by the high-sounding expressions used by the foreign 'Yakoonins' at Yokohama, called 'Ministeroos,' although it is now fully proved that they only wish to amuse themselves and frighten you. . . . You say, 'In fifteen years everything will be ready!' . . . What do you mean by this? Do you wish to affirm that Japan will be great and powerful then, and able to resist the encroachments of the barbarians; or do you wish to say you will then be able to expel them? In the first place you own that Japan is weak; this is a disgrace for the country: in the second you appear to be willing to submit to insults during fifteen years. You therefore are wrong in both cases. Why not say with us, Japan is ready, and has ever been ready? What is the difference between to-day and 250 years ago? Had not the foreigners large vessels then as now? Had they not artillery and large armies? Did they not know the tactics of war? Had they not large kingdoms? The only difference is, that their vessels were then propelled by sails; now, however, they use steam. So much the better; they will leave the quicker. . . .

It is very difficult for us to understand you when you say the world has changed, and that it is difficult for a nation to seclude itself. . . . You say the world has changed! Do you wish to repeat what an insane member of the Gorōjiu said, when he insinuated that we ought to adopt the customs, arts, and sciences of the foreigners! What science? . . . Is there any authority among foreigners worthy of bearing the name of power? Have they a Mikado who is the grandson of the Kamis? Are not all our high families of celestial origin? . . . As he (the Mikado) has confided the government to your care, and has instructed you to decide matters of general interest, you must use your power prudently; if the honour and safety of Japan is endangered, you alone cannot decide upon the measures which are to be adopted.

The policy of expulsion never got beyond paper. It was at no time, in all probability, a serious policy even on the part of the Imperialists, while the Yedo Court merely yielded to it in appearance, for the purpose of gaining time to counteract the intrigues of their opponents at Kioto, where the Shogun seems to have been very inadequately represented. On the 16th November 1863 Lieutenant-Colonel Neale was able to announce to Earl Russell that the 'Tycoon's Ministers (by letter dated 12th November 1863) have voluntarily adopted the unexpected course of informing me officially and in writing that the Government of Yedo having changed its policy, desire that I should return to them the letter[1] (of Ogasawara) relative to the decree for the expulsion of foreigners from Japan.'

At this juncture Mr Consul Lowder wrote from Hakodaté that at the northern port the people had been, at first, very much opposed to foreigners, but had become quite the reverse, and very prosperous. There was great scarcity of rice as the daimios were storing it up to prepare for war—but quite as probably against the Shogun as against the foreigner. Many daimios were anxious to open their ports, but the Shogun would not permit this unless trade were conducted through a Government custom-house. The faction favourable to foreigners, Mr Lowder concluded, was far the more numerous.

It should be mentioned that in 1863 out of thirty-two firms engaged in business in Yokohama sixteen were British, and out of 300 foreign residents 140 were of British nationality. Of the 170 vessels arriving and departing during the year, 100 flew the British flag with a freightage of 35,000 out of a total of 65,000 tons; while of the fourteen millions of dollars at which the trade of the port was valued, eleven millions of dollars

[1] This was a communication (24th June 1863) from Ogasawara Jushiu no Kami, then Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating the necessity of foreigners leaving the country. Between the date of this letter and the 16th November the bombardment of Kagoshima had taken place, 14th August.

represented our share, that of America being under one million. Herein possibly lies the explanation of the curious unfriendliness to England of American diplomacy in Japan—a country opened to trade by American energy and astuteness—which has formed so peculiar and embarrassing a feature of the relations of the two Powers in the Far East.

Notwithstanding their letter of the 12th November 1863, the representatives of the Gorōjiu at an interview with the British Minister held on the 4th January 1864, again expressed a desire to close the port of Yokohama. 'It was Commodore Perry,' they argued, 'who had originally advised the Tycoon's Government to open their ports to foreigners, but only as an experiment, which, if it did not succeed, might be closed again.' At the same interview they announced the intention of sending another embassy to Europe.[1] The Shogun, they declared, governed with his ministers the whole nation, independently of the daimios, and the Shogun's people were not hostile to foreign intercourse, but others were so, especially some 'very bad people called *rōnins*.' Hence it was necessary to procure the consent of the principal Treaty Powers (France and England first of all) to the closure of the ports. The envoys left on the 5th February 1864. Their mission was fruitless, so far as its avowed, but probably not its real, object was concerned, and in a communication to Earl Russell received at the Foreign Office on the 17th June 1864 they acknowledge their failure in the following remarkable language :—

> . . . Having now become aware that the negotiations in regard to the closing of the ports can lead to no good result, we have resolved to return to Japan, and to communicate this to the Government, so *that entirely different measures might be taken for pacifying the*

[1] The first embassy left Japan in 1862. One of the members of it wrote a journal of his experiences, to which he gave the oddly humilific title, 'A Confused account of a Trip to Europe as by a Fly on a Horse's Tail.' An amusing translation of it by Mr Satow will be found in the *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, 1865.

disturbed national feeling, and for maintaining for the future a good understanding with foreign Powers. Although it might appear strange that we, after having accomplished only half the journey we had undertaken, should return to Japan without fulfilling the duty with which we were charged, still we entertain no coolness towards your country; but, having for our object the perpetuation of everlasting friendship between the two countries, we go back to Japan regardless of our fault in not having fulfilled our duty as Ambassadors. . . .

Meanwhile the Imperialist party in Japan continued to embarrass the Yedo Court, and caused the Mikado to address a rescript to the Shogun (dated 26th March 1864) again ordering him to expel the barbarians. To this communication the Shogun returned a temporizing answer. Nothing was done towards carrying out the policy of expulsion. On the contrary, in the autumn of 1864, only a few months after the despatch of the Imperial rescript, upon Sir R. Alcock (who had returned to his post) observing at an interview with the Gorōjiu 'that the root of all evil in respect to foreign relations was the want of accord between Mikado and Tycoon, and that the time has now arrived when the ratification of existing treaties by the Mikado could no longer be deferred,' it was replied, 'We cannot give you any promise on this point, but every effort will be made on our part to obtain the Mikado's ratification. We perfectly agree with you that it should now take place.'[1]

In his important despatch and *apologia* of the 19th November 1864 Sir R. Alcock, after referring to Earl Russell's recent despatches, in which 'it was impossible not to see something of censure and condemnation,' writes:—

. . . What has been done was necessary to avert our expulsion from Yokohama, and war as a certain sequence. My whole defence and justification is there, so far as the motive, the object, and the means

[1] Blue Book, Japan, No. 1 (1865), p. 130.

employed are concerned. The results speak for themselves. A catastrophe has been averted, the danger of a war indefinitely deferred, if not altogether prevented, and our position at Yokohama secured from all immediate risk. Trade nearly extinguished has been restored with increased vigour. The Tycoon has formally announced the reversal of the obstructive and disingenuous policy so long pursued, under intimidation from hostile daimios who had determined to effect our expulsion. His power, with that of the moderate party in the country, has been greatly strengthened, and there is now for the first time a fair prospect of obtaining the Mikado's formal adhesion to existing Treaties, and thus putting an end to a conflict of authority between Kioto and Yedo, which has been a constant source of danger; a danger alike to the Empire and to foreign Powers, for if it continued but a little longer, civil war, and an attempt by force to drive the foreigner away, were certain and necessary consequences. . . .

Such a consummation would have been a calamity beyond redress. The dissolution of the Government, apart from any immediate danger, would be the destruction of the Treaty-making power. To him [the Tycoon] and his Government alone could we look for support against those most hostile to the maintenance of foreign relations. It is true his support had been feeble and doubtful in many instances. Nevertheless, from the Tycoon only could we with any effect or show of legal right, demand the fulfilment of engagements made by his predecessors, and acknowledged by him alone as valid and binding. In the dissolution of his Government and existing relations, we should lose the only solid foundation for the assertion of Treaty rights. To take new ground and go to Kioto, in search of a better basis from the Mikado, would involve a costly expedition to begin with; and an explorative voyage of discovery in unknown regions of

political difficulty. This one danger above all others, therefore, the disorganization and disappearance of the Tycoon's Government, was, if possible, to be averted.

The latter paragraphs are remarkable in view of what took place at Osaka in the following year. It would be unjust to Sir R. Alcock not to add here Earl Russell's answer to the above despatch.

Foreign Office Jan. 31 1865

I have received your very full and able despatch of the 19th of November.

Your former despatch contained a satisfactory justification of the course which, in co-operation with the Representatives in Japan of the other Treaty Powers, you have so successfully pursued. Your despatch of the 19th of November makes this justification complete.

The despatches from this office of which you speak, were written in the belief at that time that trade was uninterrupted, and that no serious attack on Yokohama was in contemplation.

Circumstances on the spot were of a totally different complexion. The energetic course you pursued in concert with the Representatives of the other Treaty Powers in these altered circumstances has been entirely approved by Her Majesty's Government, as you will have found by my despatch of the 2nd of November.

You were ordered home that you might in person give to Her Majesty's Government fuller information as to the state of things in Japan than mere despatches could convey. . . .

. . . After hearing from you your explanation of the present state of affairs in Japan, I shall wish you to return at once to Yokohama, to perform in Japan such additional meritorious services as may be expected from your tried ability and long experience.

It is possible that Sir R. Alcock's fears were well founded, but to the writer, himself a resident in Japan at the time, it has never appeared probable that the policy of expulsion was seriously entertained by any party in, or

likely to be in, power. At all events nothing was ever done, no preparation ever made, in furtherance of such a policy unless on paper. But that a general civil war was imminent in 1863 and 1864, and even in 1865, there can be no doubt whatever, and it was owing to the measures taken by Sir R. Alcock and his successors that such a disaster was averted, or at least reduced to a duel between the Bakufu and the Chōshiu daimio, of whose doings something must now be said.[1]

The Chōshiu territory, as a glance at the map will show, was situated in the extreme west of the main island,[2] north of the narrow straits of Shimonoseki which give access to the Suwo-nada, as the Japanese call the westernmost portion of their picturesque Mediterranean, the Inland Sea. Through these straits lay the track of commerce from the whole South and West, as well as from the 'outer barbarians' of the rest of the world, to the central and eastern provinces. Of all the clans that of Chōshiu was the one most bitterly opposed to the Bakufu, upon grounds which history has not yet made quite clear. In July 1863 a Chōshiu warship fired upon an American steamer at anchor for the night in the straits on her way eastwards. Shortly afterwards a similar outrage was committed upon a French despatch boat and the Netherlands man-of-war *Medusa*, both on passage from Nagasaki. In the last mentioned vessel ten men were killed and wounded, and but for the bad practice of the Chōshiu artillerymen the vessel must have been destroyed. Due punishment was at once inflicted upon the daimiate by the American and French naval forces, not, unfortunately, without loss of

[1] The Kagoshima expedition of 1863 to exact reparation for Richardson's murder was absolutely necessary. The only alternative was to do nothing at all. The Bakufu was utterly unable in 1863, as it had been during its whole existence, to exercise authority in Satsuma. Whether the seizure of the steamers, which led to the bombardment, was a wise step or not may perhaps be doubted. The bombardment was not very effectual, and perhaps encouraged Chōshiu in his resistance.

[2] Now often called Hondo. In Old Japan it had, like the other islands, no name, not even such a descriptive name as was given to Kiushiu (nine provinces) and Shikoku (four territories).

life. The action of Chōshiu, which the clan defended upon the ground that both Courts had ordered them to fire upon ships passing the straits—a special plea having only an apparent justification in the loose language of certain rescripts or decrees—was entirely repudiated by the Yedo Government though applauded by the Imperialist party. The ambition of Chōshiu soon overleapt itself, and an audacious attempt to gain possession of the Mikado's person—the palladium of Japan—was punished by banishment from the western capital and seclusion of the chief of the clan and his family. The clan maintained, nevertheless, its defiant attitude towards foreigners, and the Inland Sea remained practically closed to navigation. Such a state of things could not of course be long endured, and in July 1864 it was unanimously agreed by the Representatives of the Treaty Powers that the Shogun should be called upon to destroy the Chōshiu batteries and reopen the Inland Sea. The Yedo Government temporized as usual—probably it was unable at that time to adopt an active policy—and Chōshiu not only continued to enforce even more rigidly than before the closure of the straits, but threw up additional batteries in all directions, and collected an army of some 40,000 men to defend them. In September 1864 the batteries were attacked and completely destroyed by the naval forces of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands, accompanied by a small steamer representing the United States. Chōshiu thereupon agreed to open the straits, to pay an indemnity, afterwards fixed at 3,000,000 dollars, which the Shogun, not displeased at the result, undertook to collect, and neither to rebuild or re-arm the batteries nor to construct new ones. In the course of the negotiations these events gave rise to it became abundantly clear that whatever might have been the sentiments of the clan in 1860 or 1861 hatred of foreign intercourse was a mere pretext in 1863 and 1864, and that the real motive that underlay their action was jealousy of the Bakufu and a desire to embarrass the Government of the Shogun. The

Representatives of the daimio at a conference held with the Admirals after the destruction of the batteries stated expressly and emphatically that their Prince earnestly desired to open his own port to foreign trade, but that the state of the country was then so unsettled that until the affairs of the Mikado and the Tycoon (Shogun) assumed a more peaceful aspect it was to be feared their sanction could not be obtained. At an interview which Mr Satow had with them before hostilities began they had expressed themselves very much to the same effect:[1]—

> . . . They commenced the delivery of the communication with which they were charged by saying that their Prince . . . had consulted on the subject with his chief retainers, and had come to the following conclusions: That he perfectly acknowledged the truth of what was contained in the documents, and was conscious of his own inability to cope with the forces of Western nations. But he was acting on orders which he had received, once from the Tycoon, and oftener from the Mikado, and not on his own responsibility, in consequence of which he was unable to give the desired reply to the letters without having first received their permission to do so. For this purpose he intended to go up to Kioto and impress his views on the Mikado, which he calculated would take about three months, and he begged that the foreign Powers would delay operations for that period.
>
> I had a little conversation with them afterwards, in which they told me that their daimio had been originally favourable to foreigners, but had gone too far now to retract, and that they did not believe the matter could be settled without war. They also suggested it as a good measure that the foreign Representatives should throw the Tycoon overboard, and going to Osaka, demand an interview with the Mikado's Ministers, and conclude a Treaty with him. They spoke with great bitterness of the Tycoon's dynasty; that they

[1] Blue Book, Japan, No. 1 (1865), p. 75.

kept all trade, not only foreign, but native also, to themselves by seizing all places where trade was likely to develop itself, as Nagasaki and Neegata; and they told me that these feelings were shared by most of the people of the country. . . .

To the above may be appended an extract from a letter, dated 14th November 1864, written by Mr Rickerby, a well-known Yokohama resident, then manager of the Central Bank of Western India, who had visited Shimonoseki shortly before:—[1]

. . . So far from any bad feeling existing between the authorities there and foreigners, we found ourselves, although no foreign vessel of war was in the port, treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality: officials boarded us immediately on our anchoring, offering us freely coals, water, and provisions, and finding us well supplied invited us to land, when they entertained us in excellent style, after which we were shown the town, the batteries, and every object of interest. No attempt is being made to repair the forts, which are still strewed with the débris of the late fight. The people of the town, as well as the officials, and what few soldiers we saw, were excessively civil and polite, refraining even from that oppressive curiosity which is so annoying in Japanese towns whose inhabitants are not accustomed to the presence of Europeans. . . .

What the further fortunes of Chōshiu were may be gathered from the following pages. The daimio, as was almost always the case in Old Japan, was a nonentity, his power was in the hands of his *karō*, many of whom were hereditary and nearly as effete as their lord. In fact throughout Old Japan, both in space and time, those who ought to have ruled did not rule, and those who did rule were men with no other title to their usurped authority than what they drew from successful intrigue.

Before Sir R. Alcock left Japan (24th December

[1] Blue Book, Japan, No. 1 (1865), p. 145.

1864) he was enabled to write to the Foreign Office as follows:—

Yokohama Dec. 23 1864

The enclosed official communication from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs announcing the termination of the mission sent to Europe early in this year for the purpose of negotiating with the Treaty Powers and obtaining their consent to the closing of the port of Yokohama, has been sent to the foreign Representatives.

Your Lordship may remember that before the expedition to Shimonoseki their only thought was, as speedily as possible, to nominate another mission.

The formal and avowed renunciation of all desire to renew such negotiations was one of the earliest fruits of our success at Shimonoseki. . . .

The enclosed communication[1] is a further step, giving as it does a distinct statement, which was never before attainable, of the several laws or edicts regulating the intercourse of the natives with foreigners. There was still wanting the transcript of the several edicts, with their dates, and these have since been sent me, and are also forwarded. Thus the law of Gongen Sama, interdicting intercourse and putting all foreigners under the ban of outlawry, so often referred to, has been modified, and its hostile provisions altogether repealed. . . . But the repeal of an ancient edict of outlawry, together with this acceptance of Treaties as a *fait accompli*, may both be considered to have been fairly attained now. Peaceable and stable relations may on this basis be possible henceforth; on any other it had become clearly impracticable.

The subjoined extracts from a despatch of Mr Winchester, Parkes' old colleague of Amoy days, who became Chargé d'Affaires upon the departure of Sir R. Alcock, afford a further proof of the real desire of the

[1] Concluding with the sentence, . . . 'The interchange of friendship and benevolence between the two nations (Japanese and foreign) are daily increasing, and the relations prove from month to month more productive of mutual prosperity, which admits of no doubt.'

daimios to open their ports, and show, besides, the severity with which the Shogunate could act upon occasion. In considering Sir Harry's policy due weight must be given to the strong expressions of native opinion, before his arrival, on the question of foreign intercourse.

Yokohama March 30 1865

. . . Mr Satow states that the cause of the Mito *rōnins*[1] has received its death-blow. There were 770 prisoners in the custody of Kaga, at Tsuruga, in Echizen. The force commanded by Kaga amounted to 1300 of his own followers, besides troops belonging to the Tycoonate and other daimios. On the 22nd ultimo the prisoners were handed over to the Tycoon's officers, and on the 27th, Takeda Iga no Kami,[2] their leader, and twenty-four principal chiefs were brought to trial, and executed on the 1st of March. On the 10th and 11th, it is said, 704 *more were beheaded*, thus accounting for all but a few of those who were confined at Tsuruga. . . .

In a conversation Mr Siebold had with the *Karō* of Iyo (Island of Sikoku) and with the agents of the daimios of Fizen and Chikuzen, it appeared to him that there was reason to infer the existence on the part of these daimios of a great desire for entering into commercial relations with foreigners. The poverty of their finances and their yearly augmenting expenditure have at last convinced them that the best means of arriving at wealth would be the opening of commercial relations with foreign countries. Unfortunately the Government of the Tycoon has placed so many difficulties in their way at the open ports that it has been impossible for them to profit by trade, and they have been up to the present moment only sufferers by the rising in price of articles for daily use. They are all anxiously looking forward to the opening of

[1] Who more than any other body of men in Japan had obstructed the proper execution of the Treaties. They were the *Seito* or Righteous Party, one of the two factions which divided the clan.

[2] See below, p. 100. In Mr CLEMENT'S interesting account of the civil war in Mito (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xix.) the figures given are smaller, though considerable enough.

Shimonoseki, as being the last chance of recovering their wealth and power. . . .

To the demand for the opening of Shimonoseki, however, the Yedo Government would not listen, and the port is still (1893) closed to foreign trade.

The increasing appreciation of foreign civilization—of its material side at least—is shown in a letter written by some retainers of Chōshiu, enclosed in a despatch of Mr Winchester's, dated 11th May 1865 :—

As you have probably heard from many sources, our clan last year had a fight at Kioto with Aizu and others, for committing which offence the old Prince of Owari and certain others advanced against the confines of our provinces with the army of execution. Then there arose amongst us violent discussions, and everything was thrown into confusion and disorder. At last it came to civil war, but now the provinces have returned to a state of tranquillity, and all parties, high and low, appear to be reconciled. Hitherto there had been a great number of stupid and ignorant persons in our provinces, who being quite in the dark as to the real state of Japan, still adhered always to the foolish old arguments. They were unaware of the daily progress of the Western nations in the arts, being like the frog at the bottom of the well. But lately they have learnt in battle (though small) the accuracy of the foreign mechanical contrivances ; the ease with which these are transported from place to place. They acknowledge that they fall short themselves, and have begun to improve. The eyes and ears of the stupids having thus been opened, the question of opening the country to foreigners, or shutting ourselves up again, has become clear of itself, and there is very little difference of opinion on the subject. . . .

The Tycoon meanwhile had resolved to bring Chōshiu to submission, and on the 16th June 1865 he left Yedo for Kioto and Osaka to head a force of 60,000 men which had been collected for that purpose. From a hillock

overlooking the Tōkaidō the present writer watched the curious procession pass by, a strange medley of picturesque medievalism and nineteenth century westernism. The cost of the expedition was to be defrayed by a sort of benevolence (characteristic of the financial methods of Old Japan), as explained in a circular issued by the Yedo Government, of which a short extract will give the substance :—[1]

. . . Let it be known in Yedo, Osaka and all the provinces belonging to the Tycoon, that they must give to him as much as they can. And, particularly, tell the merchants of Yedo, who are always with the Tycoon, and whose presence renders their business more safe and very much larger than is the case of the other provinces, and who, although they so profit largely by him, do nothing for him in return, they ought to provide a portion of the profits they have been making for so long a time.

The circumstances are now different to those formerly existing. The Tycoon really has not money in anticipation of the present case. So inform the merchants and shopkeepers that they must provide as much as they can ; and order the headmen (every five or six houses in Yedo has such an officer) to write out the names of contributors and the amounts they give, and send in the writing to Tachi Chimo. It is to be hoped that all will give their utmost, but let these headmen (of five or six houses) know that if they do not exert themselves in persuading all to give liberally they will be punished.

P.S.—This money shall be paid back in ten years, by instalments of so much a year—or so much a month—from next year. Let this be explained to every one.

[1] Blue Book, Japan, No. 1 (1866), p. 46.

CHAPTER XXIV

RATIFICATION OF THE TREATIES

1865 Æt. 37 WITHIN a fortnight after his arrival at Yokohama the new British Minister, who was the last man in the world to let the grass grow under his feet, had an interview with the Representatives of the Yedo Government; at which, to quote the despatch giving an account of what took place, 'they gave expression to very implacable feelings against Chōshiu, and declared that nothing less than complete dispossession of his territory, and even capital punishment, would satisfy the Tycoon.' The emphasis of this utterance was largely due, no doubt, to the favourable tone of a meeting of daimios assembled the day before to present addresses on the occasion of the safe arrival of the Shogun at Osaka. It was precisely the Chōshiu question, more particularly in relation to the indemnity, that during August and September engaged Sir Harry Parkes' attention. To the intrinsic difficulties of the situation was added the embarrassment caused by a difference of opinion that had arisen between himself and some of his colleagues. But with tact and patience unanimity was finally restored, and it was agreed that two-thirds of the indemnity of 3,000,000 dollars should be renounced in exchange for the opening of Hiogo and Osaka. At this juncture an opportunity offered itself for a masterstroke of policy of which the British Minister was not slow to avail himself. Four out of the five members of the Gorōjiu were in attendance upon the Shogun,

and Parkes made the bold proposal that the foreign Representatives should go down to Osaka in a body, accompanied by a sufficient naval force to ensure respect and safety, and from that important centre, while resuming the indemnity negotiations, collectively urge upon the Mikado's attention through the medium of the Shogun and his Ministers, the far more important matter of the ratification of the Treaties,—a subject in relation to which the Gorōjiu had of late shown an unpleasant tendency to manufacture delays and objections. 1865 ÆT. 37

The idea of procuring the Mikado's sanction to the Treaties was no new one. Townsend Harris had long before threatened the Yedo Government with a direct appeal to Kioto. Herr Lindau[1] too had advised some such step, and in 1865 the elder Siebold,[2] who had a grudge against the Shogun's Government, had ridiculed the Treaties of 1858, precisely because they were not made with the Mikado. Lastly Sir Rutherford Alcock had repeatedly pressed upon the Yedo Government the advisability of thus removing all doubt as to their validity. Even the Japanese themselves had recommended such a policy.

But it was reserved for Sir Harry Parkes to see and grasp the favourable moment, and by an act of great moral courage remove the obstacle that had hitherto barred the way to any permanent understanding between Japan and the West. His proposal was agreed to, though not without considerable discussion with his colleagues, and the expedition left Yokohama for the Inland Sea on the 1st November. It proved an entire success—the

[1] Paul Lindau was German Consul at Yokohama in 1865. He was one of three brothers who have all distinguished themselves. Rudolph is especially known as a writer of *Novellen*, of some of which the scene is laid in China or Japan.

[2] Philipp Franz, Freiherr von Siebold, was connected with the Dutch settlement at Deshima, where he arrived in 1823. He was the author of the most elaborate and splendidly illustrated work on Japan that has yet appeared, the *Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*. An excellent account of his life and work will be found in Mr CHAMBERLAIN'S *Things Japanese*, 2nd edit. p. 386.

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foreign Representatives must themselves have been astonished at the rapidity with which their object was attained —and before Sir Harry Parkes had been six months in the country he had won the most signal victory British diplomacy has ever gained in the Far East. His own despatches to Lord Russell give the best narrative of this great transaction, which formed a turning-point, not merely in the history of foreign relations with Japan, but in the history of Japan itself.

To Earl Russell *Princess Royal*, off Hiogo Nov. 17

I took advantage of the departure of a French frigate for Saigon on the 15th instant, and the probable opportunity thus offered of communicating by the French packet, to report to your Lordship, in my despatch of the 14th instant, my arrival at this anchorage, in company with the Representatives of France, the United States, and Holland . . . I have now to report our proceedings up to this date. On the 1st instant the combined squadron left Yokohama, and reached this anchorage on the 4th, which is distant about twelve miles from the mouth of the small river that leads to Osaka. The next morning the several representatives despatched officers in an English gunboat and French steam-tender to deliver letters announcing our arrival to the Ministers of the Tycoon, and to arrange a conference between them and the Representatives. I enclose copy of my communication, and should add that I deputed Mr Macdonald and Mr Siebold on this service, and that the former also acted for the United States Chargé d'Affaires. They found that the river could only be entered by ships' boats, and on landing at a fort at its entrance they were courteously received by Japanese local officials, and afterwards by Ogasawara Iki no Kami, one of the Ministers of the Gorōjiu, who came from the city to meet them on hearing of their arrival. He at once assured our officers that the Gorōjiu were quite disposed to receive the foreign Representatives; but that those most familiar with foreign affairs were

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then absent with the Tycoon, who had left the previous day for Kioto, distant about thirty-five miles. These, or one of them, Abé Bungo no Kami, would return, he said, to meet the Representatives, and he engaged that an interview should be held on board the ships at Hiogo, on the 9th instant.

When that day arrived, however, we were visited by the two Governors of Osaka, who came to explain the inability of Abé Bungo no Kami to fulfil his engagement in consequence of being detained at Kioto to assist the Tycoon at an audience with the Mikado. They apologized with much earnestness for this unexpected delay, and again named the 12th as the day for the meeting. I accepted their apologies, with the observation that I trusted the attention which I understood from them was being given to our affairs at Kioto would eventually facilitate a satisfactory settlement, but I pressed for an earlier interview than the 12th, and this they promised to make known at Kioto.

Eventually Abé Bungo no Kami came down from Osaka on the morning of the 11th, and it was arranged that he should first be received by myself and the Representatives of the United States and Holland on board Admiral King's flag-ship, and afterwards by the French Minister on board his frigate. . . . The proposals of Her Majesty's Government were clearly stated to the Minister of the Tycoon, and urgently pressed on his consideration. It was with some disappointment that we heard from him that the Tycoon had made but little advance, during the last twelve months, towards the fulfilment of the promise made by his Ministers to the foreign Representatives in October 1864, to obtain the sanction of the Mikado to the Treaties, and also that, in the opinion of the Tycoon, the opposition to foreign intercourse was still too strong to allow of his giving fresh opportunities for its extension by opening Hiogo and Osaka. He admitted, however, that progress had been made in

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the conciliation of adverse opinions, that the hostile daimios had abandoned their advocacy of active opposition, and that if the Mikado's approval of these Treaties were once obtained, all obstructions to foreign intercourse would disappear. . . . Instead of meeting us again on the following day, as had been at first arranged, he sent to say that the gravity of the questions that had been discussed rendered it necessary for him to represent all that had passed to the Tycoon and his colleagues, and that after attending the Council which would be held for this purpose, he would again meet the Representatives on the 14th instant.

On that day Tachibana Izumi no Kami, a Vice-Minister and member of the Second Council, and Tazawa Tsushima no Kami, Principal Ōmetské of the Tycoon, came down from Osaka, being sent, as they stated, in place of Abé Bungo no Kami, who was reported to be ill. The Council had been held. The Tycoon was convinced, they said, that the sanction of the Mikado to the Treaties had become indispensable. As the negotiations he had to undertake for this purpose required time, Tachibano pressed the foreign Representatives to extend their stay to fifteen days from the date of the interview (the 14th). . . . Ten days would probably be the extent of the detention we could agree to. In that time we expected to be able to form an opinion as to the degree of authority remaining in the Tycoon's hands, and also as to his disposition to exert this authority in the execution of the Treaties contracted in the name of the Japanese Government and Empire.

To Earl Russell *Princess Royal*, off Hiogo Nov. 25 (extr.)

The appearance off Osaka of an imposing naval force, though not employed for coercion, or to support a menace, would at least serve to remind the faction that has hitherto placed itself in opposition to the Treaties, that the Powers with whom those engagements have been concluded, possess the means of insisting upon the fulfilment of them when they see

fit to do so; and speaking after the event, I can assert with confidence that had it not been for the presence of the allied fleet on this occasion, the Tycoon would not have been persuaded to make to the Mikado those energetic remonstrances and representations without which union between these rulers on the subject of the Treaties, and the foreign policy they render necessary, would not have been effected. . . . 1865 ÆT. 37

During the three weeks that the fleet has lain at this anchorage constant communication has been kept up with the shore, and parties of officers, in the course of daily walks or excursions, have traversed the country in many directions. They have been invariably treated with marked goodwill by the private orders of the people, who in return have been freely permitted to visit our vessels.

In my despatch of the 17th instant I reported to your Lordship the progress made up to that date in the joint negotiations of the Representatives of the four allied Powers relative to the compensations which our Governments desired to accept from that of the Tycoon in return for two-thirds of the indemnity due under the convention of the 22nd October 1864. I then stated, that the result of these negotiations was still uncertain, and dependent upon the success of the efforts of the Tycoon to obtain the sanction of the Mikado to the Treaties. To Earl Russell *Perseus* Nov. 28 1865

On the night of the 19th a report reached Hiogo, that affairs had taken an unfavourable turn at Kioto, and that two of the Tycoon's Ministers and principal supporters of his foreign policy, Abé Bungo no Kami and Matsmai Izu no Kami, had been dismissed by the Mikado. In order to satisfy ourselves of the accuracy of this report, I sent Mr von Siebold the next morning to Osaka, in company with M. Cachon,[1] deputed by M. Roches for the same purpose. Objec-

[1] A French missionary who acted as interpreter to the French Legation.

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tions had been raised to our officers penetrating into the city on the three previous occasions on which they had proceeded towards Osaka; and the fort at the entrance of the river, or a house selected on the outskirts of the town, formed the place of meeting. These objections were most strongly urged in the present instance, on account of the excitement which the Japanese officers declared prevailed throughout the town. These statements received some confirmation from certain occurrences that met Mr von Siebold's notice. He observed a considerable movement of armed boats on the river, and that the guards detached for the foreign visitors greatly exceeded the number appointed on previous occasions, and were not at their ease or disposed to be communicative. They learned, however, that the report as to the dismissal of the two Ministers was correct; and that the Tycoon had left Osaka for Fushimi with a considerable body of troops.

The excitement seemed to interfere with the arrival of Yamaguchi Suruga no Kami, who had been announced as the officer who would receive the messages with which Messrs von Siebold and Cachon had been entrusted; and it was not until they had been compelled by a tedious delay of six hours to set out on their return, that a messenger overtook and informed them that Yamaguchi would follow them to Hiogo and wait himself upon the representatives.

The next morning, the 21st instant, Yamaguchi and two other Japanese officials met myself, M. Polsbroek, and Mr Portman, on board the flag-ship. He was sent, he said, by the Gorōjiu to inform the foreign Representatives that Abé Bungo no Kami and Matsmai Izu no Kami had left the Tycoon's Ministry by order of the Mikado, and had also been deprived of their rank as Kami.

Under these circumstances, and in view of the dismissal of the Tycoon's Ministers, my colleagues and myself considered it advisable to address direct to the

Tycoon a *note identique*, again urging the necessity of attention to our proposals, and of union, based on the observance of Treaties, being preserved between him and the Mikado in respect to foreign relations. These notes, which were despatched on the morning of the 22nd instant, were delivered to the Tycoon at Kioto early on the following day. 1865 ÆT. 37

This letter also reminded the Tycoon that the 24th instant would form the last of the ten days we had agreed to wait at Hiogo for the reply of his Ministers to our proposals.

On the afternoon of that day, a steamer arrived from Osaka bringing down Matsdaira Hoki no Kami, Yamaguchi Suruga no Kami, with other subordinate officers, and interviews were at once held with the Representatives. Hoki no Kami announced to us that the consent of the Mikado had been given to the Treaties.

I have constantly kept before the Japanese Ministers the fact that under the London agreement Her Majesty's Government could at any time demand access to Hiogo and the other places now temporarily closed, on the ground of the non-fulfilment of the conditions upon which the opening had been postponed. I have also been most particular in assuring them that no additional delay in the execution of the Treaty in this respect will be consented to, and, as under any circumstances, therefore, the opening of these places must occur within two years from this date, I urged on their consideration the saving they would effect, of no less than 2,000,000 dollars, if they chose to anticipate the time named in the London agreement by two years, or even, as I was willing to say, eighteen months.

The indemnity, Hoki no Kami said, they were quite prepared to pay. It would severely tax their resources, but they decidedly preferred to meet this obligation, rather than consent at once to the opening of Hiogo and Osaka. He assured us that the Treasury

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had already issued the second instalment, which became due according to their calculation in the ninth Japanese month (which expired on the 18th ultimo), and that the Representatives would find this sum waiting delivery at Yedo. Punctuality in the discharge of the remaining four instalments would not be neglected.

Proceeding to the consideration of the revision of the tariff, Hoki no Kami expressed the assent of the Tycoon's Government to this proposal, on the general basis of 5 per cent, and informed the Representatives that Mizuno Izumi no Kami, member of the Gorōjiu, had been instructed to enter on the negotiation of this question at Yedo.

In the course of the interview the Mikado's decree approving the Treaties was produced by Hoki no Kami. The terms in which this should be communicated to the Representatives, and also made public throughout the country, were determined after some discussion, and on the morning of the 25th instant the despatch and decree of the Mikado, of which I have the honour to enclose translations, were received by each of the Representatives.

The receipt of this despatch brought the negotiations to a close. The results attained are, the ratification or approval of the Treaties by the Mikado; an agreement to revise the tariff, and an engagement that the indemnity due under the Convention of October 1864 shall be punctually discharged. The terms in which the Japanese Ministers declare their choice of this latter condition in place of the immediate opening of Hiogo, furnish a fresh guarantee for the eventful fulfilment of the London agreement, either at the time originally stipulated, or earlier, should circumstances permit.

Your Lordship will be satisfied, I trust, that in respect to the opening of Hiogo and Osaka, I made every effort in my power to induce the Japanese

Ministers to agree to an arrangement that would have met the views of Her Majesty's Government. But the choice between the payment of the indemnity and the opening of these places rested with the Tycoon's Government, and they never evinced the least hesitation as to the election that they have made. 1865 Nov. 27

It is to be hoped that the ratification of the Treaties by the Mikado will greatly facilitate the adoption of improved opinions as to foreigners and their trade. It completes the validity of our position, and thus deprives the daimios of the principal pretext they have hitherto had for assailing the Tycoon and the foreigners he has admitted into the country. If they continue their contest with the former it must take other grounds, and the latter will no longer furnish the ostensible cause of contention. As a measure, therefore, which is calculated to remove or abate a hostility which would probably have defeated every effort to extend our trade at new ports, the Mikado's ratification of the Treaties will prove, I trust, a far more valuable concession than immediate admission to a port, the opening of which cannot, under Treaty and express agreement, be deferred for more than two years from this date. It must be borne in mind that the Tycoon in signing the Treaties without the approval of the Mikado took upon himself, as the event has proved, greater responsibilities than he could perform. My predecessors had therefore clearly seen, as is well known to your Lordship, that the union of the Mikado with the Tycoon on the foreign question was essential to the security of the relations based upon those Treaties, and that unless union were at once effected, no extension of present privileges could be obtained through the Tycoon's authority alone, and probably other and more serious embarrassments might ensue.

In reporting that this important advantage has now been secured, I am very sensible, my Lord, that it would be presumptuous in me to lay claim to any other

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credit than that of not neglecting an opportunity of completing, in co-operation with my colleagues, the work to which they and my predecessors had so long devoted themselves, and which had been signally advanced by the affair of Shimonoseki. That blow, however, proved insufficient in itself alone to gain the end that is now attained. It will be in the memory of your Lordship that after Chōshiu's batteries were destroyed, Abé Bungo no Kami was sent by the Tycoon to Kioto, at the instance of the Representatives, to move the Mikado to give his sanction to the Treaties. The opposition, however, was still too strong to allow of these representations being effectual. On this occasion, however, the presence of the Tycoon himself at Kioto, attended by his Ministers and a considerable force, furnished a more favourable opportunity for the consideration of the question. He saw also that the double dangers by which he was threatened—those arising out of his civil struggle with Chōshiu, as well as prospective difficulties with foreign Powers—rendered some decisive efforts to strengthen his position indispensable. And the appearance of the allied fleet in the Bay of Osaka gave him an opportunity of taking up the foreign question with a degree of energy which he otherwise would not have ventured to exert.

It remains for me to express the hope that my proceedings may meet with your Lordship's approval.

I have acted throughout in concurrence with colleagues who, with long experience of the subject, held the decided opinion that the confirmation of the Treaties by the Mikado formed by far the most valuable of the conditions we were instructed to accept in exchange for two-thirds of the indemnity. My colleagues were also as clearly persuaded that while the neighbourhood of Hiogo and Osaka continues to be the scene of military movements and political agitation, those places could not be occupied by foreign merchants without considerable risk. If, however, we have

not secured the opening of these places, which, apart from the considerations above mentioned, we could not insist upon while the Japanese Government preferred so decidedly the payment of the indemnity, we have, on the other hand, relinquished no portion of that money, although two of the three conditions we were willing to receive in exchange have been secured. 1865 ÆT. 37

I have felt, my Lord, throughout these proceedings the grave responsibility which attaches to the movement of a fleet, even when undertaken, as in this instance, for the attainment of a purely peaceful object; but I was also sensible that this responsibility should not deter me from the adoption of the measure that appeared to be best calculated to give effect to your Lordship's instructions; and it is easy to perceive that the result now reported could not have been obtained by representations to Yedo, through the single member of the Tycoon's Cabinet remaining there.

I cannot omit, in concluding this despatch, to bear testimony to the zealous assistance I have received during this expedition from Mr Macdonald, First Assistant, and Messrs von Siebold and Satow, the Interpreters of this Legation. My communications with Osaka were conducted by them with all the care and judgment that was rendered particularly necessary by the assertions of the authorities that no officer or foreigner could safely appear in that city, and that they would not be responsible for his security. These visits involved long journeys of thirty miles on each occasion, and some personal hazard in crossing the surf of the Osaka bar. Their services were also usefully employed in connection with the business of the fleet; and I have much pleasure in recommending the efficient and cheerful manner in which their various duties were performed to the favourable notice of your Lordship.

The Mikado's decree, mentioned in the above despatch, was couched in the following terms:—

The Imperial consent is given to the Treaties, and

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you will therefore undertake the necessary arrangements in connection therewith.[1]

To Iyemochi (Tycoon's name).

The above decree having been just issued shall be communicated to all the daimios and hatamotos without exception. You will be informed of the terms of the proclamation at Yedo.

I hereby put this on record.

MATSUDAIRA HOKI NO KAMI.

24th November 1865.

In a further despatch Sir Harry shows how the ratification of the Treaties was regarded by the great daimios:—

To Earl Russell Shanghai Dec. 8

I have the honour to inform you that, on the conclusion of the negotiations at Osaka, which I have reported in previous despatches, I took a passage in Her Majesty's ship *Perseus*, which Admiral King was despatching to this port by way of the Inland Sea, for the purpose of visiting Shimonoseki, and possibly Nagasaki, if circumstances would permit.

I was visited by several officers of Chōshiu, who are believed to be in his confidence, and while I assured them of the complete neutrality of Her Majesty's Government in their dispute with the Tycoon, I recommended to them, as I had repeatedly done to the Gorōjiu, a policy of accommodation. To my inquiries for information as to the conditions demanded by the Tycoon, they replied that these consisted simply in a summons to them to send certain of their leading *karō* to Osaka to discuss matters with his Ministers, but that distrusting the treatment to which their envoys might be subjected, compliance had hitherto been declined.

[1] 'With characteristic duplicity the Shogun's Ministers,' says a well-known writer, 'omitted from this copy the postscript in which the opening of Hiogo was forbidden, and a revision of the Treaties also commanded.' Here, no doubt, we have an explanation of the desire of the Yedo officials to pay the Chōshiu indemnity rather than open the ports.

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On furnishing Chōshiu's officers with copies of the Mikado's decree approving the Treaties, they expressed themselves satisfied with its authenticity, and admitted that it would be generally respected by the daimios. They remarked that the Tycoon could only have obtained it with difficulty, but, as the Mikado had by this act taken the responsibility of the Treaties upon himself, the former would be relieved from considerable embarrassment.

Since my arrival here on the 5th instant, I have learned that the intelligence of the Mikado's approval of the Treaties has also been well received by the agents of the daimios at Nagasaki, as well as by the officers of the Tycoon, and I am happy, therefore, to think that the hopes entertained as to the good effect that this event may have in reuniting contending parties in this country will not be disappointed.

Sir Harry's services on this momentous occasion were warmly acknowledged by the Earl of Clarendon, who had replaced Lord Russell at the Foreign Office, in a despatch dated 5th February 1866 :—

From the Earl of Clarendon Feb. 5 1866

Her Majesty's Government have received with great satisfaction the interesting reports contained in your late despatches of the proceedings of the representatives of the four Treaty Powers during their late visit to Hiogo ; and they fully appreciate the importance of the results, and more especially the manner in which they have been brought about.

Her Majesty's Government would have much regretted the employment of menace, and still more of force, without direct authority from home, to induce the Japanese Government to agree to the representations of the Treaty Powers, and they are the more gratified that, without having recourse to such measures, you should have succeeded in conjunction with your colleagues in securing the important concessions which you have thus obtained.

Of your own share in these transactions I cannot

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speak too highly. By temper and tact, combined with firmness, you have prevailed over the resistance, in whatever cause it may have originated, which has so long been opposed to the formal confirmation by the Sovereign of Japan of the engagements entered into by the Tycoon, but hitherto ignored by the Mikado and the daimios; and you have achieved this success, to all appearance, not only without producing any bitterness of feeling on the part of the Japanese Government, but even with their hearty concurrence.

The Queen commands me to convey to you Her Majesty's entire approval of your conduct in this negotiation. . . .

. . . Her Majesty's Government are peculiarly struck with the account which you give of the demeanour of the native population, and they derive the greater satisfaction from it, as affording the most convincing proof of the good behaviour of the officers and crews of the combined squadron when brought, for the first time almost, into close contact with the inhabitants of that hitherto but little known portion of the Japanese Empire. . . .

You will also inform Mr Macdonald, Mr von Siebold, and Mr Satow, that I highly approve of the manner in which they acquitted themselves of the duties entrusted to them, and of my satisfaction at receiving your testimonial of the zeal and ability of which they have given sufficient proof.

From the foregoing extracts it will be seen that the Shogun's Government preferred paying the Chōshiu indemnity to opening Hiogo and Osaka, and in fact these ports were not opened until 1868. From this time forth no party in the State occupied itself seriously with the policy of expulsion, though a sporadic and fitful hostility to foreigners long continued, and even still occasionally shows itself with far less excuse than in the sixties. But every day was bringing the country nearer to civil war, mainly through the singular ineptitude shown by the Yedo Government at this crisis. Their true policy was to aid

the Treaty Powers in obtaining the needed ratification; but they showed neither decision nor earnestness in their proceedings, and allowed the management of the Kioto Court to slip out of their hands. It was out of no disbelief in the constitutional authority of the Shogun, but merely from a perception of the increasing weakness of his Government and the growing strength of the Imperial Party that the British Minister felt constrained eventually to uphold the latter, the more so that the old seeming duality must have become a constantly embarrassing reality, had not the one or the other of the two factions—they were nothing more, the people save in a very few instances standing outside of the struggle from beginning to end—become decisively predominant. 1865 ÆT. 37

Before leaving for the West in November Sir Harry, who had seen the southernmost of the Treaty ports on his way from Shanghai, paid a visit to the northernmost, Hakodaté, where he arrived early in October on board H.M.S. *Princess Royal*, the last two-decker, it is believed, that ever sailed into the China Sea, if not indeed the last to cross the Indian Ocean. During his short stay in Yezo Sir Harry, determined to get as far north as possible, arranged an expedition to Yurappu, a considerable Ainu village situated some distance up the west coast of Volcano Bay, in the neighbourhood of which it was reported that traces of gold existed. The party consisted of the Minister, Admiral (afterwards Sir George) St Vincent King, Captain Howard Vyse,[1] and a number of consular and naval officers, including the present writer. No account of this journey, which occupied several days, has been found among Sir Harry's papers, and Ainu-land is now so well known that it is unnecessary to give any excerpts from my own notes of what was a most strange and interesting visit. During the long rides over the hills, along the lake-shores, through the birch and pine forests and over the shingly beaches I was often Sir Harry's companion, and was sometimes not a little embarrassed at the insatiable

[1] Then H.M. Consul at Hakodaté.

1865 Æt. 37 curiosity he displayed. Being something of a naturalist I was constantly resorted to for the names of trees and flowers, birds and beasts of all kinds, and, in particular, for such explanations as I was able to give of the geological appearances of the country, which were often of a striking character, the whole district having been repeatedly disturbed by volcanic action. On the return journey, at one of the inns, the woman of the house, moved to anger by some cause unknown to us, flew into a violent rage with the party, and presented the only instance I ever knew of a Japanese 'scold.' There were no 'branks' at hand, and it was not until one of the two Japanese officers who accompanied us had loaded her with reproaches as voluble as her own, emphasized by a few sharp taps with a cane, that she calmed down.

The following figures give some notion of the importance of British interests in Japan in 1865. The total value of the trade, import and export, inclusive of the new commerce in silk-worms' eggs, amounted to more than 32 millions of dollars, equal, at the then value of the dollar, to some 8 millions sterling. It is worth recording here that the dollar, worth 5s. in 1865, is on the day these lines are written (10th August 1893) worth only 2s. 6¼d. Most of the trade was British, so was six-sevenths of the tonnage. The customs duties, at Yokohama alone, amounted to 452,305 dollars, the whole of which considerable sum, together with the dues collected at Nagasaki and Hakodaté, went into the coffers of the Shogun—whose good fortune was proportionately envied by the daimios, above all by the great *Kokushiu* daimios of the South and West.

CHAPTER XXV

REVOLT OF THE WEST

1866

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No correspondence respecting affairs in Japan during the years 1866, 1867 and most of 1868 has been published. Scarcely any official sources of information are therefore available for this period of Sir Harry Parkes' career, important and interesting as it is, and only a scanty private correspondence remains to throw somewhat more light upon the events of the time than is afforded by the imperfect narratives that pass for modern Japanese history.

During the year 1866 that history was enacted mainly in the extreme west, where lay the territory of Chōshiu. The Shogun's animosity against the clan had increased rather than lessened, despite the intercession of Satsuma, and early in the year the following quaint order was sent to the Hagi [Chōshiu] daimio :—

> Although you have shown evidence of a submissive temper by inflicting capital punishment on your *karō* and their advisers,[1] and by confining yourselves within the walls of a monastery, you must be held responsible for having lost the art of ruling your retainers. Permission therefore has been obtained from the Imperial Court to inflict three additional penalties upon you, namely, the forfeiture of 100,000 *koku* of land, the

[1] This phrase shows where the real governing power in the clans lay.

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perpetual confinement of the chief of the clan[1] and his son, leaving the succession to your eldest grandson, and the extinction of the families of the three *karō*.

The 'permission from the Imperial Court' may have been merely a formula, if a reality it shows that the end of the Shogunate had already begun. The clan indignantly refused compliance—no such order probably had been sent since the days of Iyeyasu to a *Kokushiu* daimio—and decided to await the arbitrament of arms. The French secretly supported the Shogun, and went so far—if Japanese accounts are to be trusted—as to threaten armed interference on his behalf. Sir Harry Parkes on the contrary maintained a rigidly neutral attitude. The fortunes of the campaign undertaken by the Shogun against his rebellious vassal, as Chōshiu was in a modified sense, are not worth following in the absence of anything like an impartial or authentic account. It suffices to state that the insurgents were successful in their resistance. 'In this campaign,' says the *Short History*, . . . 'the Chōshiu men . . . were chiefly armed with muskets.[2] Their drill too was excellent. In fact the Chōshiu clan had gained a great deal of experience in the year 1864, . . . this enabled them on each occasion to beat the eastern (Bakufu) army.'

The western clans, indeed, had known how to draw profit even from their hostile relations with the very people whom they expressed (without feeling) a desire to expel, and in this, as in the greater struggle of 1867-1868, were in every way better equipped and organized than those attached to the Tokugawa house. In October the Mikado—by which term here and throughout is meant the clique or party that held possession for the time being of his person and authority caused the operations against Chōshiu to be discontinued on account of the death of the Shogun, Iyemochi, which had taken place at Osaka on the 19th September.

[1] That is the daimio himself.

[2] The Bakufu troops seem to have been armed mainly with swords and spears.

Henceforward the destinies of the country were virtually in the hands of the Imperialist party. The inner history of this political revolution cannot be given; it is doubtful indeed whether any authentic account of it will ever be forthcoming. It is, however, sufficiently certain that what lay at the bottom of the movement was the intense desire of the greater daimios to get rid of the Shogun, who was equal in wealth and power to any ten or twelve of them combined, as the main obstacle to their participation in the advantages of foreign trade, a desire not unshared by many who owed direct allegiance to the Tokugawa House. Sir Harry Parkes, whose able officers, in particular Mr Satow and Mr Aston, kept him furnished with ample information, was well aware of this desire and based his policy upon it. 1866 Æt. 38

Since the defeat of the Eastern troops on the southern shores of the Suwo Sea by the Western forces, the policy of the revolted clan had been uniformly successful. On the death of the Emperor on 30th January 1867, the new Shogun Keiki, who had received his appointment on the 6th, withdrew for the moment from the struggle.

Early even in 1866 his predecessor had scarcely any support among the *tozama* or non-feudatory daimios. Satsuma had openly sympathized with Chōshiu, and sent envoys of his own to Europe mainly to purchase war material of all kinds. How the necessary funds were obtained it is not easy to say. Of the system of finance, general and provincial, that existed in Old Japan scarcely anything is known. One doubtless common way of raising the wind is exemplified in the Shogun's circular, already given (p. 41). Satsuma's policy is described in an instructive letter from Mr Hammond, who for several years maintained an active correspondence with Sir Harry Parkes :—

From E. Hammond April 26 1866

> Lord Clarendon desires me to tell you confidentially that he has had an interview with [a person on whose statements, it is believed, implicit reliance may be placed, who gave him to understand] that neither on Satsuma's

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part, nor on that of other daimios generally, was there any hostility to intercourse with foreigners because they are foreigners, but that the apparent hostility originated in the monopolizing spirit of the Tycoon, who seeks to retain in his own hands, and so alone reap the profit of, the trade with foreign nations.

This Satsuma, and those who think with him, look upon as unfair. They have no objection to the Tycoon drawing a profit from foreign trade, but they do object to his drawing the whole, and to this feeling is to be traced, among other symptoms of hostility on the part of the daimios, the difficulty made lately in admitting foreigners to trade at Osaka so long as the Tycoon would alone profit by it. This difficulty is not likely to be abated even when the appointed time for opening the port arrives, unless the cause of it is removed, and it is therefore deserving of the most serious consideration of the Japanese Government whether they should not abandon this present exclusive system. They now stand between two dangers—hostility on the part of the foreigners if they evade the fulfilment of their engagements, and hostility on the part of the daimios if they attempt to fulfil them according to the system acted upon at present. Both dangers they may avoid, according to Lord Clarendon's informant, by admitting the daimios to what after all is only their rightful privilege, and the process by which this may be arrived at would seem to be a free discussion of the whole question between the Mikado, Tycoon, and daimios, directed to ascertaining the best means, not for putting an end to foreign trade, but for extending it to the utmost for the respective benefit of all three parties.

The views of the western daimios had previously been communicated to Lord Clarendon by Laurence Oliphant.[1]

It may be of use to you that I should put on paper the exact views of the [person] to whom I intro-

[1] See vol. i. p. 449.

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Laurence Oliphant to Lord Clarendon March 25

duced you the other evening, as he expresses not merely the sentiments of the Prince of Satsuma, but of all the principal daimios of Japan. . . . They desire that the Treaty Powers should request the Mikado (with whom, since the ratification of the Treaty, we have come into direct relations) to convoke the three principal daimios or branches of the Tycoon's house (Gosanké) and the eighteen great daimios (*Kokushiu*) and any other daimios whose advice the Mikado may wish to have. These should meet in Miako[1] (the Foreign Ministers *not* being present) and the Mikado should obtain their signatures to the Treaty already ratified by him. After the ratification of the Treaty by the daimios, the Foreign Ministers or their Envoys should meet the Commissioners of the daimios at Osaka and exchange ratifications, but between the meeting of the daimios at Miako and the exchange of ratifications at Osaka three months at least should be allowed to elapse for deliberation between the daimios, the Mikado, and the Tycoon, for it is probable that new stipulations would have to be introduced and new conditions made regulative of the relations which now subsist between the Tycoon and the daimios in matters of foreign affairs. Unless this or some analogous arrangement is made, I am assured that the daimios intend again to resort to arms, and embroil the whole country in a civil war on the first occasion of the opening of another port in the Tycoon's territory.

It was during this year that the Shogun ordered a war vessel from the United States at a price of 600,000 dollars. When the vessel arrived it turned out to be a corvette scarcely worth half the money, and the Yedo Government refused to receive it. The transaction was in fact an unblushing fraud, and the American Government had to offer compensation in the shape of a ram, the well-known *Stonewall Jackson*, which arrived, however, in the thick of the civil war of 1868, and was not

[1] An old Japanese name of Kioto.

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delivered to the Japanese until near the close. It was then used to bombard Hakodaté, in other words to enforce a policy which was the very reverse of what those who ordered it desired to support. In May 1866 the edict against natives leaving the country was abrogated, and persons of all classes upon procuring proper passports were allowed to go abroad for purposes of trade or study.[1] The new law was liberally construed, and even actors and jugglers were permitted to avail themselves of this relaxation of the ancient edicts. Schools, too, were established upon the foreign plan, and were largely attended, but almost wholly by members of the samurai class.

The insufficiency of the Treaties of 1858, in certain respects, had for some time past been fully recognized on all sides. The preparation of a new Convention[2] and tariff had occupied Sir Harry Parkes' attention during the earlier months of 1866, and on 25th June in that year the instrument was signed by the Representatives of all the Treaty Powers and of the Shogun's Government.

[1] Only a few years previously Yoshida Shoin had been put to death for having on some prior occasion merely *attempted* to quit Japan. After the attempt he had become, curiously enough, a bitter opponent of foreign intercourse. Towards the close of the thirties, as Mrs Lockhart informs me, there were several shipwrecked Japanese at Macao who were unable to gain readmittance to their country. Some were employed as servants by the Rev. Mr Gutzlaff, and one of them, who long afterwards entered the service of the British Legation at Yedo, was murdered —according to one version of the story, as a returned Japanese—in Sir R. Alcock's time.

[2] It is noteworthy that in this document neither 'Taikun' nor 'Shogun' is used to express the supreme authority. Nor is the term 'Mikado' to be found in it. The ruling power is designated simply the 'Government of Japan.' The word 'taikun' (Tycoon) is found in the Japanese text of the 1858 Treaties. It is merely descriptive, meaning 'Great Lord,' and is not a title or name at all. Mr Aston believes the term was first used in diplomatic intercourse with Korea. It was properly applicable to a sovereign only, and the use of it no doubt involved an intent to deceive. Siebold called attention to the origin of the expression as far back as February 1865 in a letter in the *Augsburg. Allgemeine Zeitung*, quoted in the *London and China Telegraph* of 28th February 1865, in which, however, he curiously mistranslates the passage he cites, *teikoku Dai Nippon taikun*, which does not mean 'The Great Lord of the Tei or Mikado of Japan,' as he renders it, but 'The Great Lord of the Empire [Teikoku =imperial country] of Great Japan.' The error in translation is of some importance, as Mr Satow has pointed out to me.

The Convention, which was practically the work of the British Minister in conception and execution, modified the tariff in a manner generally acceptable both to the Japanese authorities and the foreign merchants, abolished many custom-house abuses, and provided against interior customs duties being levied upon either exports (as had previously been the case) or imports. In addition, it contemplated the creation of a free mint to meet the very considerable difficulties inherent in the fluctuating native currencies—the issues of which were often debased—and contained an undertaking on the part of the Japanese Government to establish without delay an efficient bonded warehouse system—a boon long desired by the foreign community. Finally, by what were perhaps the most important articles of all, the freest commercial and social intercourse with foreign countries and with foreigners at the open ports was granted to all classes and conditions of the Japanese people without any Government supervision or interference whatever. On the details of this far-reaching scheme space does not allow of any comment. In relation to the machinery for carrying it out, the Japanese Government constantly resorted to Sir Harry Parkes' advice and assistance, which was always as ungrudgingly given as it was carefully considered. 1866 ÆT. 38

Towards the end of July a well-earned holiday was spent in a visit to Kagoshima, at the special invitation of the powerful daimio of Satsuma. Lady Parkes and Admiral King accompanied the Minister; but no narrative is available of a most interesting experience of Japanese provincial hospitality. The party met with a royal reception, concluding with a grand hunt in a forest full of deer, wild boar, and monkeys. What perhaps was even more gratifying than the extreme cordiality of the welcome extended by all classes of the Satsuma community to their visitors was the emotion with which their hosts, for once losing that self-command on which the samurai of Old Japan prided themselves, bade their guests farewell. The visit was not forgotten

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by Satsuma men, who in after years were especially friendly with the members of the British Legation, and the hospitality of Shimazu and his officers was a sufficient answer to the ignorant criticism which scribes who knew nothing of Japan, and depended wholly on second or third grade evidence produced long after the event, applied to the action of the British squadron at Kagoshima three years earlier.

At Nagasaki, on his way back, Sir Harry Parkes received from a Satsuma officer of rank a letter of the highest interest in relation to the political situation. Portions are given as illustrative both of the hollowness of the anti-foreign cry and of the unrest of the clans of which the state of Satsuma opinion was more or less typical:—

From Godai Saisuke[1] Nagasaki Sept. 25

Permit me to solicit your interest and help in a matter of great importance to my country and to the whole of Japan, which if managed aright may lead to a better understanding and more friendly relations between foreigners and my country people. Whilst at Kagoshima my Prince or Minister spoke to you of sending a mission to foreign countries, but more especially to England, with a view of opening the minds of his people by allowing them to view the manners and customs of western nations. Mr Nero Gioboo,[2] Minister for Foreign Affairs,[3] is now on his way to consult with you, and to ask your help in arranging the best mode of carrying out the Prince's wishes as to this mission.

It was the intention of my Prince to send one of his brothers as an ambassador to your country, thinking by this means to make known his heart and mind through his own brother, but some of his *Karō* and

[1] One of the two prisoners who chose to remain on board the British squadron at Kagoshima rather than go ashore after the burning of the steamers seized by Admiral Kuper in 1863. The other was Terashima Munenori (then known as T. Tōzō), who afterwards became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Godai was a member of the Government formed in 1868. He was afterwards in the Foreign Department, which he left to enter into business at Osaka, and died some years ago.

[2] *Sic* in the letter. Nirō Glōbu is probably meant.

[3] That is for the Satsuma clan.

Ministers of State have raised objections to this arrangement, stating that according to Japanese custom it is not lawful for princes to leave the mother-country. 1866 ÆT. 38

I cannot but compare their obstinate opposition to improvement to a 'frog,' which is content to live in a small dark well instead of enjoying the pleasure and freedom of swimming in a clear bright river.[1] . . . I hope you will explain to our Prince how much such narrow-minded ideas are to be regretted; and, in addition, I wish you would explain that as the Treaty has been made only between the Tycoon and foreign Powers, that it is necessary, in order to ensure a good result, that the mission should be headed by one of the Prince's brothers, accompanied by one of his most confidential Ministers.

If you thus express yourself to our Prince, the opposition party will most probably at once adopt your views, and the Prince's brother will be very glad, as he has already made preparations for the voyage. This will no doubt result in a complete change in our system, and a new policy, founded upon unquestionable right, promises to the State of Satsuma great advancement and accession of power, which will tend to strengthen her friendly relations with foreign Powers through a long series of years.

Mr Nero Gioboo has been to Europe with me last year, and is therefore quite of my mind and opinion, but Mr Yoshi, who accompanied him, is still a little obstinate, and not of our opinion, and I hope you will strongly advise him.

An unpleasant matter must now be mentioned which gave Sir Harry Parkes a great deal of trouble and caused him no little pain. Towards the close of 1865 several British subjects resident at Hakodaté were accused by the Governor of desecrating Ainu graves for the purpose of procuring skulls—doubtless to satisfy the scientific cravings of some European craniologist. They

[1] A common Japanese simile.

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were tried before the Consul, Captain Howard Vyse, and acquitted on the ground that the charge was not proven. The assessors, who under the order in Council regulating criminal justice in Japan sat with the Consul, dissented from the judgment, and the case was referred to the Minister as Consul-General, who found the accused guilty —as they undoubtedly were—and sentenced them to a year's imprisonment in the Hongkong gaol. He also ordered a thousand silver *ichibus*, worth something over one shilling each but in purchasing value very much more, to be distributed among the aggrieved Ainu, each of whom received an equivalent in coin of some twenty-seven shillings, a fortune to the poor Ainu, which they doubtless thought rather easily obtained. The case is referred to in a letter to Mr Winchester, then Consul at Shanghai :—

To C. A. Winchester Jan. 31 1866

> Our past fortnight has been uneventful, and our tariff is probably the stock-subject. M. Roches, as I told you before, is a great advocate for making this place [Yokohama] a free port, and has informed me that Mr Drouyn de l'Huys tried to obtain this concession from the Japanese envoys in 1864, but could not because they had no powers to treat on the subject. I am afraid that the arrangement would throw more power into the hands of the Japanese authorities for unauthorized taxation on the native dealers, though you can easily imagine that the prospect of being able to land anything and everything without custom-house interference, and obtaining everything needed for local consumption free, is attractive to some people, and especially to landholders. The Chamber of Commerce, however, who are debating the subject, incline to my view of the case, which, however, I admit I am ready to qualify if convinced that the arguments are on the side of the measure. Vyse has made a great botch of a disgraceful case that has occurred at Hakodaté, in which three Englishmen . . . have gone into the country and rifled Ainu tombs of skulls and

skeletons. Vyse tried the men, but hesitated either to commit or acquit, and then referred the case to me for decision. Afterwards, when all doubt was cleared up by the confession of the prisoners, he again applied to me to sentence the men. 1866 Æt. 38

Some further correspondence with Mr Winchester is added as illustrative of certain aspects of Sir Harry Parkes' life and work during 1866:—

To C. A. Winchester Yedo June 14

Just a line to say that I am at Yedo, but very busy to-night in consequence of delay caused by the Japanese in the execution of our tariff and a Convention that will I trust accompany it. They are thinking of requiring another reference to Osaka before signing, which would be a great nuisance, as I want to take myself off to Nagasaki in ten days hence, and the tariff ought to come into operation on the 1st July. We are going to attempt the bonded warehouse system, and a free mint is to come into operation in eighteen months' time, when the *ichibu* exchange will become a subject of history. Tycoon still detained at Osaka and playing the old game of Lord Chatham, with Chōshiu as Sir Richard Strachan.

The Minister's view of the political situation is shortly stated in the following letters:—

To Consul Flowers Oct. 14

Satsuma seems to be divided into two parties — that of the young prince and that of the uncle [Shimazu], and I am told that it is the latter who is the ultra-radical, and that the former is not active against the Tycoon. The concessions of the latter should satisfy . . . all parties, and as soon as the new Government is consolidated I trust Japan may have more favourable days in store. The Mikado is now the Sovereign without doubt—the Tycoon one of his principal and most intelligent ministers and advisers.

To C. A. Winchester Yokohama Oct. 31

An assembly [of daimios] has been summoned to meet at Kioto or Osaka or both. Hitotsubashi says he will not take an empty title, and before accepting the office of Tycoon he will know its powers and how

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far he can rely upon the support of the daimios. There has been a little squabbling between him and the Mikado as to *who* should summon this parliament, and I believe the Mikado has carried his point in claiming the prerogative to be his. The business really before the assembly, if they can be kept to it, will be to determine the relative powers of Mikado and Tycoon, the representation of the daimios, and the management of foreign affairs, the opening of Osaka being the real test of that question. . . .

The great fire, which almost annihilated Yokohama towards the close of November 1866, a full account of which will be found in Mr Black's *Young Japan*, compelled a large proportion of the foreign community to take shelter on board the men-of-war and other ships in the harbour.

To C. A. Winchester Yokohama Dec. 22

A sad disaster has befallen us at Yokohama in the shape of a fire which has destroyed a very considerable portion of both the native and foreign town. The editors of both our papers have vied with each other in issuing such full accounts that I cannot do better than refer you to them for the fullest particulars. I was not at Yokohama, nor any of the Foreign Administration, the American Minister being at Nagasaki, Polsbroek[1] at Yedo, and myself in the hill districts. But had we all been there we could not have done more than was done by those who laboured so strenuously to check the devouring flame. It swept everything before it until the wind dropped, and the flying embers even set fire to ships in the harbour. Lady Parkes and Mrs Locock took shelter at nighttime on board the *Princess Royal*, and everything was carried out of our respective houses. The flames came up to the French hospital; had that taken fire M. Dury assures me the explosion of the vast stores of brandy which the vaults contain would have shaken down many of the houses. It was very unfortunate that Lady Parkes, who was far from well, should have had to go

[1] The Minister for the Netherlands.

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through such a trial in my absence, but most of our things are in their place again, and no ill effects have supervened in her case. The Representatives must now set to work to deduce good from the evil done, and have again collected together for this purpose. My idea is to have a good broad boulevard of sixty yards or even 200 feet in the centre of the settlement, to have it planted with trees, and to allow of no wooden buildings being constructed upon it. However we have not yet had time to consider plans. I do not think that trade will be greatly interfered with. Already sheds are going up in every direction and people are at their business again. I will mention a more agreeable subject in the despatch of the twenty-four young students to England in the charge of Mr Lloyd.[1] They are sent by the Tycoon's Government, and are to go through a regular course of study, to which they are willing to devote three or four years if needful. You are right as to the difficulties that may still be ahead of us at Osaka. The daimios declare the Mikado confirmed the Treaties with a reservation.[2] The Tycoon's Government swear equally emphatically that the act of confirmation is complete. There is no such thing as truth in such cases. Each party invents from time to time the tale best suited to its necessity. However the ratification as formally communicated to us is clear enough.

It is to be regretted that Sir Harry's advice in the rebuilding of Yokohama was not followed. Shortly afterwards a great fire occurred in Yedo :—

To C. A. Winchester Yedo Dec. 16

Eusden[3] left Yokohama yesterday and I intended writing to you to-day by French steamer, but I am much disturbed by a fire which is raging with great violence in

[1] Mr Lloyd was a naval chaplain. The scheme was not very successful, and Mr Lloyd—with whom the fault in nowise lay—had some trouble in recouping the expenses he had incurred.

[2] See *ante*, p. 54, note.

[3] Mr Eusden was appointed Dutch Interpreter at Yedo in 1859. In 1866 he was attached to the Supreme Court at Shanghai. In 1868 he was appointed Consul at Hakodaté, and retired from the service in 1882.

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the commercial quarter and might reach us if the wind rises much. This is the third great fire we have had in Yedo during the last eight days—Tierra del Fuego, the place might justly be called. But the worry occasioned is great. I think, however, I shall get some good out of the Yokohama fire.

On the very last day of the year the Minister was himself the victim of an attempted outrage, which but for his courage and presence of mind might have ended seriously enough. Riding through Shinagawa, a suburb of Yedo, he was suddenly confronted by a two-sworded fellow with half-drawn blade. The Japanese guard did nothing, but Sir Harry at once rode at the man, and with the help of the sergeant-major of his escort, who was fortunately with him, gave his assailant into custody.[1]

[1] See Black's *Young Japan*, end of 1866. No mention is made of the attack in any document that has come under notice during the preparation of this work.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE LAST OF THE SHOGUNS

1867

THE year 1867, though an eventful one in Japanese history, was distinguished in the history of foreign diplomacy in Japan only by the sanction of the Government being obtained, mainly through the skill and patience of Sir Harry Parkes, to the opening to foreign commerce on the 1st January of the following year of the cities of Yedo and Osaka, of the port of Hiogo (Kobé), and a port (Niigata) on the west coast. In January 1867 the dignity of Shogun was offered to Hitotsubashi, more commonly known as Keiki, the last of the long line of Tokugawa Shoguns, a scion of the Mito House and the very man rejected in 1858 by the Regent Ii Nawosuké Kamon no Kami. It was not without difficulty that Keiki was induced to accept a post that he rightly judged was not likely to bring him either honour or profit. In the following month the Mikado died, and after a long interval of mourning was succeeded by the present Mikado, whose mother was one of the ladies of the Court. The new Shogun endeavoured to conciliate the Western daimios, but his efforts met with no success. He held a grand reception of the Foreign Representatives in April, which gave great umbrage to the Court and to many of the *tozama* nobles, who were or affected to be equally offended with the proposal to open Hiogo

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and Osaka. The discontent found expression in a letter addressed to the Shogun on behalf of the daimio of Tosa, in which the writer strongly recommended that the double system of government—which the administration was fast becoming—should be replaced by the single government of the Mikado. Oddly enough—but who shall say what intrigues were afoot?—the Shogun adopted the suggestion, and even advised his vassals to accept the proposed arrangement. In November he actually sent in his resignation; but most of his immediate feudatories disliked the policy, and even the Court hesitated to adopt it. What form of government precisely either party at this juncture desired it is not easy to say. A sort of compromise was eventually hit upon, under which the Shogun was to exercise his power in subordination to Kioto and retain his jurisdiction in the Kwanto, while all matters in which the *tozama* daimios and the country generally were interested, inclusive of foreign relations, were to be discussed by the daimios in committee or council. Such a system, however, satisfied no one and does not appear ever to have come into actual operation. Much of the remaining history of the diplomacy of the year may be gathered from a series of letters addressed to Mr Flowers, Consul at Nagasaki:—

Sir H. Parkes to Consul Flowers Osaka May 17 1867

> . . . I have been told that his [the French Minister's] visit to Nagasaki has something to do with work in the engineering factories there. Please let me know if this is the case. It has been suggested that he or Admiral Roze had some idea of having the Japanese Government establishments for French uses. Many reports have gone from Nagasaki to Hongkong as to the intention of the Japanese Government to fit out an expedition from that port against Korea. . . . I shall be glad of any information you can give me on this point, which is deserving of close attention.

The reference in the above needs a word of explanation. The members of the British Legation and consulates at no time dabbled in or promoted commercial transactions with

the Japanese. Far other was the conduct of the diplomatic Representatives of France and America, who in 1867 and afterwards, on their own behalf and on behalf of their countrymen, used their utmost efforts to obtain Government contracts for military and naval stores. M. Roches thus procured a sort of monopoly from the Yedo Government for the construction of docks, etc., and the supply of military materials and munitions for the managing director of a well-known French Company in Japan. About the same time a number of French officers arrived to instruct the Shogun's army. To the last, while Sir Harry Parkes maintained an attitude of rigid neutrality between the contending factions, the French envoy almost openly sided with the Shogun,—a policy bitterly resented by the Mikado's Government, and one which, rekindling as it did the flames of *jōi* (anti-foreign) fanaticism, was the cause of many of the troubles that afterwards arose between foreigners and Japanese who could not distinguish between one foreign nationality and another.[1] 1867 Æt. 39

In August (1866) two sailors of H.M.S. *Icarus* had been murdered at Nagasaki by some seamen, it was supposed, of a Tosa steamer in a drunken row. The British Minister lost no time in requiring an investigation to be

[1] The French Minister, M. Léon Roches, was full of the peculiar French patriotism, so undisguisedly selfish, that has not seldom been a mark of French diplomacy in the East. He appears to have aimed at the creation of a sort of French protectorate of the Shogunate. To some such scheme the French authorities endeavoured to persuade the Shogun's brother, the Mimbu Taiyu, to lend his aid during his visit to Europe in the latter half of 1867. But their methods were too rough, and the 'young Tycoon' came to hate the very name of France, where he regarded himself as a sort of hostage. The commercial enterprises fostered by M. Roches, of which some of the most trusted of the Emperor's advisers and even Napoleon III. himself did not disapprove—enterprises which if successful would have monopolized the whole export trade of Japan, and a large share of the import trade also—were originated with this object as much perhaps as with that of any immediate pecuniary profit. They all resulted in considerable loss. In a very remarkable memorial now before me, addressed by M. Roches to his colleagues in February 1868, he advocates in very emphatic terms the extension to the Shogun of the support of the Treaty Powers against the action of the Mikadoist party, in strange contrast with the policy of the British Minister which, while strictly one of non-interference, favoured the creation of a unified system of government based upon the consent of the ruling classes of Japan.

1867 Æt. 39 made, and in the course of it himself visited Tosa, whose daimio did all in his power to facilitate the inquiry.

To Consul Flowers Surabi (in Tosa) Sept. 6

I have been hard at work since I left you in this matter of the murder of the men of the *Icarus*. I arrived at Osaka on the 23rd and left it again on the 29th. I succeeded during that time in procuring an order for the removal of the Nagasaki Governors and the appointment of a Commission to accompany me to Tosa's territory to follow up the reports as to the murderers having fled there in the *Nankai-Maru*. We now find that the investigation must be adjourned to Nagasaki, and the Commission accordingly proceeds there and all the people of the *Nankai-Maru* are being sent there in the ——.[1] I send Satow to acquaint you with all that has passed, and to watch and follow up the proceedings both of the Tycoon's officers and of those of Tosa, who appear to be cordially co-operating in the investigation and declare they will leave no stone unturned to discover the offenders. You will doubtless be glad to have Satow with you at such a conjuncture, but I trust he may not be long detained. If the murderers could be promptly detected, convicted, and punished, great *kudos* would be due to all concerned.

It was afterwards discovered that Tosa men had nothing to do with the outrage, but that it was the work of a party of Chikuzen students who, strolling about the town half-drunk, found the two sailors lying asleep in the street. The senior of the party drew his sword and amused himself by coolly slashing the unfortunate men to pieces. The matter was reported to the agent of the clan, and the cowardly assassin placed in confinement, where he managed to commit *harakiri*. The rest of the party were ultimately caught, and in February 1869 were condemned to various terms of imprisonment, while the Prince (then Chiji of the Fukuoka *han*) was sentenced to seclusion and to the payment of a proper indemnity to the families of

[1] The name of the vessel is left blank in the original.

the murdered sailors. Justice was thus done, but not quite in the right way, for sentence was passed without Sir Harry Parkes being consulted. Upon his complaint the Government admitted their error, and made full reparation for their want of courtesy and consideration. It is worth noting here that from the ratification of the Treaties up to the earlier seventies the Japanese Government, upon the facts of an outrage or misproceeding of any kind being clearly explained to them—a process often requiring much time and patience,—almost invariably acted with justice and decision. Sir Harry had infected them. 1867 ÆT. 39

The following extracts need scarcely any explanation beyond what may be gathered from the foregoing pages :—

To Consul Flowers Yokohama Nov. 23

Before this reaches you, you will have heard of the events going on at Kioto. The condition of the Government is to undergo an immense change. The Tycoon no longer affects the Sovereign, the Mikado has to step forward and discharge the duties of a sovereign, and the daimios are to form in fact as well as in theory the Council of the nation. The news first reached me on the 16th inst.; but the general character of the change is alone known. The details have not been spread, or are withheld. . . . I have heard from a Satsuma quarter that they have decided on sending back all their French officers. This resignation of so large a portion of his power by the Tycoon is a sad blow to Roches. For my part I think it is the beginning of better things, and that now there is a chance of an intelligent and efficient system of Government in Japan. It is quite consistent with this hope that there should be trouble in the initiation of the new order of things.

To Consul Flowers Yedo Nov. 27

The intelligence we continue to receive from Kioto is assuming a satisfactory character, and I think there is a prospect of the Japanese working out a most important change in their constitution, amounting to an entire revolution in the organization of the State,

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in a peaceable manner. It will be very creditable to them if they do so. The Tycoon has set an admirable example of a sacrifice of power, and the daimios will have to follow suit. We may in that case hope to see a strong central Government having jurisdiction over the whole of Japan, and which can control daimios as as well as concede them their just rights.

Fires and alarms of fire are almost common incidents of life in Japan, and were the more dreaded in the sixties in that scarcely any means then existed of extinguishing them :—

To Consul Flowers Yedo Dec. 1

My residence at Yokohama was burned down on the 25th ult., and as I was unfortunately under-insured, I have only between four and five thousand dollars to replace property worth more than double that amount, and which I must get (exclusive of library and wardrobe) again at once. My Japan service therefore shows me again a double loser.

In May the Treaty Representatives returned to Yokohama by sea, but Mr Satow in company with Mr Wirgman[1] made his way back by the Tōkaidō, the great inter-metropolitan highway. At Hamamatsu their party was attacked by some followers of the Reiheishi.[2] Six of the assailants were soon caught and put upon their trial. All were convicted, two being sentenced to death —carried out in the case of one, the other died in gaol— and the remaining four to transportation.

[1] Charles Wirgman went out to China in 1857 as artist for the *Illustrated London News*. He was a man of considerable ability and a facile caricaturist. In his *Japan Punch*, the numbers of which appeared fitfully during a series of years beginning with 1872, the social and to some extent the political episodes of the time are amusingly and often tellingly depicted. The caricatures of Sir Harry in particular are as clever as they are good-natured. Mr Wirgman died a few years ago.

[2] The Reiheishi was a *kugé* of high rank sent every fifth month from the Kioto Court to offer up gilt *gohei* or peculiarly cut paper symbols—imitative perhaps of the cloths which tempted the Sun-goddess to leave the cavern into which the insults of the god Sosa- or Susanowo had driven her—at the shrine of Iyeyasu at Nikko. He was accompanied by a nondescript crowd of followers and servants, who took advantage of his semi-sacred character to extort gifts of money from the inhabitants of the villages they passed through. See Mr Satow's notes to ADAMS' *Hist. of Japan*.

On the whole as the year drew to its close, the diplomatic outlook was a singularly favourable one. The political situation appeared equally free from anxieties. For the moment there was an almost complete lull in native affairs, and had the new Shogun been a man of decision and ability, or assisted by able counsellors, the Revolution which was ushered in with the new year might, very possibly, have been accomplished with little or no bloodshed, and without the violent and hasty changes that have retarded rather than promoted the true progress of Japan. But the man was not there, the opportunity passed never to recur, and Japan, not escaping the usual fate of nations, had to enter upon her rejuvenescence amid the din of civil war.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE *COUP D'ÉTAT* AND CIVIL WAR

1868

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THE first day of the new year witnessed the opening of Osaka and Hiogo to foreign trade amid the firing of salutes and the fluttering of many flags. But almost ere the roar of the guns had died away an audacious *coup d'état* at Kioto changed the whole aspect of affairs, and the tocsin of the Revolution was loudly sounded. At noon, on the 3rd January, the troops of five daimios, including Satsuma and Tosa, dislodged the Aizu clan, by far the most faithful of the Tokugawa feudatories, from the guardianship of the Palace, and made themselves masters of the person, and with the person, of the authority of the Mikado. The very next day a decree was published abolishing the Shogunate altogether, and announcing the Mikado's resumption, as it was phrased—in reality his assumption—of the Government according to the constitution of the very mythical emperor Jimmu Tennō.[1] A good deal of excitement followed. A body of Chōshiu troops was introduced into Kioto, and about the same time disturbances occurred in Yedo, whose origin was traced to the Satsuma *yashiki*, in consequence of which the great mansion was surrounded by Tokugawa troops

[1] The first Mikado, according to the current histories of Japan. He began to reign in 660 B.C., and in the Japanese calendar the year 1893 is consequently 2553 of the Jimmu era.

and destroyed. From that moment Satsuma became as bitter an opponent of the Shogun as Chōshiu himself. It is not certainly known who planned this stroke of policy, but we may be pretty sure that such men as Iwakura, Gotō Shōjirō, Terashima, Okubo, and Kido, all of whom held high office afterwards, were not strangers to it. The *coup d'état* was in keeping with Japanese precedents, which were those of Oriental history, but involved a needless breach of faith with the Tokugawa party, and was the cause of all the bloodshed that followed. The Shogun protested in emphatic terms, and withdrew to Osaka, where he explained his position to the Foreign Representatives there assembled on the occasion of the opening of the ports. They presented a joint note to him declaring their neutrality, but in that note gave him the title neither of 'Tycoon' nor of 'Shogun,' but addressed him simply as 'Highness'—a significant indication enough of their view of the situation. In his reply the Shogun did not notice the change, but declared that until the form of government should be settled after a general discussion of pending questions by the whole country (*i.e.* by all the daimios and higher samurai) the conduct of foreign relations remained in his hands. 1868 ÆT. 39

Acting upon the advice of his Council the Shogun now determined to march upon the capital, with the object of rescuing the Mikado from the hands of his self-constituted guardians. But at the town of Fushimi, some dozen miles from Kioto, his forces were met by the Imperialist clans, and the eastern troops, despite their superiority in numbers, suffered a decisive repulse. The unfortunate Shogun returned to Osaka, whence he made his way by sea to Yedo, after announcing to the Foreign Representatives his inability to protect them and the residents who had already begun to occupy the newly-opened settlement.[1] It is said

[1] But there was an earlier occupation by the dead. On Christmas day 1867 the Surgeon of U.S.S. *Hartford*, and a lieutenant of H.M.S. *Rodney*, were laid to their last rest in the plot of ground set apart for a cemetery.

1868 Æt. 39 that before leaving for the eastern capital he went on board a French ship, and hinted at French help. But his was clearly a losing game, and the French, turning their backs upon him, joined the other Treaty Powers in issuing a proclamation of neutrality. After the flight of the Shogun, Osaka fell into a condition of anarchy, and the foreign envoys and residents returned to Kobé, where the new Hiogo settlement was to be situated. This site, by the bye, which was carefully chosen by Sir Harry Parkes himself, was much objected to at the time, but has proved to be by far the best that could have been selected.

The very next day a throng of Bizen men, well armed and provided with field-pieces, streamed into the town of Kobé, shouting *Shita ni iro*—'Down on your knees.' The natives obeyed readily enough; the foreigners could not, and presently had to fly for their lives under a shower of bullets. The British Minister, who was crossing the new site at the time, with his usual promptitude at once made his way to the Legation guard-house, and ordered out the men, who, accompanied by a detachment of the 9th Regiment and some French and American marines, soon drove back the assailants and took possession of their field-pieces. The Bizen officer shortly afterwards expiated his want of control over his men by committing compulsory *harakiri* in the presence of European and Japanese officials. One of the former was Mr Mitford,[1] then a Secretary of Legation, who has given a vivid picture of the scene in his *Tales of Old Japan*. In the course of the following week the bloodiest massacre of foreigners that had yet occurred in Japan took place. A party of French sailors who had landed at Sakai, a few miles from Osaka, were suddenly attacked by some Tosa soldiers, and eleven of them mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood. A terrible vengeance was exacted

[1] Now Mr A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C.B., M.P. for the Stratford on Avon Division.

by the French Minister, and eleven out of the twenty or twenty-two assailants were condemned to perform *harakiri*. In accordance with Japanese custom a sort of dirge was composed by (or for) the condemned men, upon what may be regarded as the common-form model of such productions.[1] 1868 ÆT. 40

It is not improbable that these outrages were in some measure the expression of a renewed feeling of hatred against foreigners caused by the support given to the Shogun's party by the French Minister, whose view of the political situation seems to have been altogether erroneous. An amusing glimpse of the sort of not unfriendly contest that Sir Harry had for some time maintained with his colleague on the relative merits, politically, or rather, perhaps, diplomatically speaking, of the Mikado and the Shogun, is afforded in a letter to Lady Parkes :—

To his Wife Osaka March 19

I wrote you last on the 12th from Hiogo. I crossed that day to the Osaka roads, and was of some use in urging the Japanese Ministers to comply with Roches' demands. These after some reductions, made I think at my instance, were reasonable. He demanded (1) the execution of the men concerned in the massacre, leaving it to the Japanese to determine the number — reserving however a limit beyond which he would not have been contented ; (2) he asked an indemnity of 150,000

[1] Of Mr Satow's translation the first and last three stanzas may be given :—

1

A regard for the opinion of others has resolved me to root out foreign nations and requite the benefits I have received from my country. If right principles can be perpetuated to all time, death is too insignificant a sacrifice to be worthy of mention.

9

Unworthy as I am I have not wandered from the straight path which a Japanese owes to his prince.

10

The cherry flowers, too, have their seasons of blossoming and fading. What is there for the Japanese soul to regret in this (*i.e.* death).

11

Here I leave my soul and exhibit to the world the intrepidity of a Japanese heart.

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dollars for the families of the eleven killed and the five survivors — four of whom are badly wounded; (3) apologies from the Mikado's Government and the Prince of Tosa; and (4) exclusion of Tosa troops from open ports. The Mikado's Government showed an excellent feeling in the matter — the demands however had to be referred to Kioto, and four days were allowed for this purpose. We returned to Hiogo on the 13th. On the evening of the 15th Japanese Ministers arrived to inform us that the demands had been accepted, and that twenty men had been condemned to death, and would be executed the next day at Sakai, which you will recollect is eight miles below Osaka on the east side of the bay. M. Roches accordingly crossed on the 16th with his two ships. The twenty men were led out, but when eleven had been despatched, the French officers applied for the reprieve of the remaining nine and the execution was stayed. It was a fearful sight, and I am thankful that the English were not concerned in it, and nobody had to attend on our part. All were allowed to commit *harakiri*—that is cut their own bowels open, which as you know is an honourable death. That of a felon is I think the proper one for a murderer, and this was certainly one of the most cold-blooded assassinations that can be imagined. On the 17th the visits of apology were paid, and yesterday Roches returned to Hiogo. As soon as the affair was settled the Japanese Ministers renewed their invitation to us to go to Kioto, and Polsbrock and myself accepted as before. When Roches returned yesterday he informed us that he also had now determined to go, which will, I think, rather disgust the three colleagues [Prussia, Italy, and U.S.A.] who returned to Yokohama. . . .

This visit to the Mikado, if we succeed in accomplishing it, will be the crowning work of our three months of labour, and irksome and anxious as

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the task has proved, I think we may feel that the result is proportioned to the effort.

I trust, however, that you will give me credit and encouragement for being constant not only to you but to duty when it is requisite, and particularly in this effort of mine to carry the Kioto and Mikado question. There is no general government now at Yedo, and to have returned there without having established relations with the new Government would have been to have tried to occupy a place between two stools—the result of which could have been foretold. I have had to persevere in the face of the opposition of four out of five colleagues, and it is rather amusing to find Roches become a convert at the eleventh hour. He declared he would not go, in order, I believe, to divert me from doing so; and he has altered his course because he found that I would not be diverted and because he felt that he could not let me go without him. I find my relations with the new people to be much better than those with the old, and Roches must be sensible of much mortification at the utter collapse of his policy.

The further course of the civil war must now be narrated. None but partisan accounts of the struggle have been published, and only the main events need be here noted. After getting safely back to Yedo, disheartened by the disastrous combat of Fushimi, Keiki[1] threw up the sponge, and was banished to Mito, the capital of his clan, while an Imperial Commissioner took possession of the eastern metropolis. The northern feudatories of the Tokugawa house, however, would not confess themselves beaten, and gallantly continued the struggle with such success that an edict was published announcing 'an amnesty to all now in arms against the

[1] He had been advised by one of his vassals, Hori Kura no Kami, to commit *harakiri*, but declined. Hori thereupon disembowelled himself, a striking instance of the sense of loyalty that was at once so strong and so weak in Old Japan.

1868 Æt. 40 Mikado's Government, the restoration to the Tokugawa family of the bulk of its fiefs in the Kwanto, and the offer of a seat in the Cabinet to the Shogun.' Much turned upon what was meant by the promised restoration of Tokugawa fiefs—a matter of vital importance to the retainers of the house, who, dissatisfied with the explanations offered, and alarmed by the delivery of the Castle of Yedo to the Imperial Commissioner, occupied the high ground of Toyeizan, better known as the Uyeno Park, where many of the Tokugawa Shoguns lie buried. From this position, which commanded the whole city, they were dislodged, after a desperate conflict, by the Mikado's troops, and abandoning the capital joined the northern daimios, who, under the headship of Aizu, continued to maintain a partisan war in the name of the Rinnōji no Miya, a prince of the Imperial blood, of whose person they had somehow got possession, and whom they affected to regard, much against his will, as the lawful Mikado. No permanent success, however, attended their arms; they were driven to the west coast of the main island, and finally to Yezo. There a last stand was made, with the help of the fleet under Enomoto, who, aided by French officers, took possession of Hakodaté. It was not until June 1869 that the war was brought to a close with the capture of the town, after a six days' siege, by the combined land and sea forces of the Mikado.

While the north and east resounded with the din of arms, the organization of the new Government was being proceeded with at Kioto. Okubo Ichizo, a Satsuma samurai of no high rank, to whom, perhaps more than to any other single statesman of that time, save possibly Kido, the ultimate success of the Revolution was due, had presented a memorial to the Mikado, in which, among other things, he advocated the emergence of the Sovereign from a seclusion which was boldly characterized as little else than an absurdity, his assumption of the reins of government, and the immediate removal of the capital to Osaka.

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This document at once produced a great effect. One result was compliance with the desire expressed by Sir Harry Parkes and the Foreign Representatives to be received in audience by the Mikado. On the 23rd March the French and Dutch Ministers attended the Court, and were welcomed with every mark of respect by the Mikado, whose definite abandonment of the seclusion of ages was thus established. The English Minister was to have been received on the same day, and was actually on his way to the Court, when further progress was stopped by one of those murderous assaults which have given so sinister a character to the earlier years of foreign intercourse with Japan. An outline of the story is contained in Sir Harry's letter to Lady Parkes, written on the following day.

To his Wife
Kioto
March 24

. . . I have had another grave trouble since I arrived here—the most serious one, indeed, that I have yet encountered. Yesterday, while proceeding to the Mikado's palace to have my audience, my procession was attacked by several Japanese swordsmen who sprang out on us as we passed, and commenced their deadly work in a demoniacal way. To make my story clear I give this little sketch of our position at the time the attack occurred. . . . Our procession was formed of—first, escort; secondly, myself, Satow, Bradshaw, and Gotō Shōjirō, a high Japanese officer; thirdly, infantry guard. As the escort were turning out of street D into street E,[1] and were therefore passing out of my sight, I saw some confusion among the last horses, which backed upon my party, and immediately a Japanese rushed past us cutting frantically at everybody as he ran. His blows cleared me, but cut my belt and took off the end of the nose of Satow's pony, which was close to me. I called out to our men to cut him down, and he was bayoneted before he got to the end of the guard (C), one of whom he severely wounded. At the same time that this occurred Gotō Shōjirō jumped from his horse and made his way into street E, distant two horses'

[1] Referring to a diagram in the letter.

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lengths, and I observed him draw his sword and rush round the corner. I followed immediately and saw him cut a Japanese down. The escort was all in confusion, and two or three horses were dashing wildly down street D, which was little better than a lane. It is not impossible that the actual assailants were more than the *two* men I have accounted for, though we now have knowledge that more were lying hid a little further on.

On looking round I found that no less than nine of the eleven men who formed the escort were wounded. Another Japanese officer was also wounded, making with the man of the 9th and my *betto*[1] twelve in all—a large list of casualties for such an affair. I of course had to give up all idea of going to the Mikado, and to turn my attention to the wounded. Fortunately we had three doctors with us,—wounds were hastily tied up, and most of the men rode their horses home. The bayoneted Japanese still lived and we took him home for examination. The information he gave us proved very valuable, and led to the seizure of three other men. You may imagine how busy I have been since. A number of Ministers have just left me, with whom I have come to a satisfactory understanding. I left it to them to deal themselves with the case, and they have acted entirely to my satisfaction. The two Japanese officers who were with me at the time behaved very nobly. They killed the man who was despatched, themselves. . . . Out of this affair I expect to get a law rendering attacks on foreigners by two-sworded men—hitherto looked upon as heroism—punishable by an infamous death. The *harakiri* which Roches mistakenly accepted in the Sakai affair makes heroes or martyrs of the men who undergo it, and rather encourages than deters from crime.

Roches and Polsbrock reached the palace safely, and had their audience. The ruffians who attacked me, by

[1] Groom.

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the confession of the bayoneted man whom we took prisoner, had no idea *whom* they attacked, or to what nation we belonged. They had come out for the purpose of attacking foreigners generally whenever they met them.

A fuller and extremely graphic description of the attack was given by Mr Mitford in a letter published in the *Times* of 20th May 1868:—

You are aware that the newly-formed Government of the Mikado, anxious to establish foreign relations on the most friendly footing, invited the foreign Ministers to Kioto to have an audience of the Mikado. Three of the Representatives, those of England, France and Holland, accepted the invitation. . . . The other three, those of Prussia, the United States, and Italy, chose to defer their visit until they could return from Yokohama, to which place the interests of their subjects, as they said, called them without delay.

We left Osaka on the 20th, and reached Kioto the following day towards noon. The Temple of Chion-in, a residence of the Princes of the blood, had been set aside for the English Legation, and more splendid quarters it is difficult to imagine. The 22nd was spent by Sir Harry Parkes in paying official visits to the high officers of the Mikado's Court, and to two or three of the daimios. The 23rd was fixed by the Mikado for his reception of the foreign Ministers. Up to that time everything had gone off most satisfactorily, and every one was highly pleased with the frank and friendly manner in which we had been treated by high and low. With such confidence did we set out on our way to the Palace that I did not even carry my revolver.

To make you understand what occurred I must tell you the order in which we set out [to have an audience of the Mikado at his palace in Kioto]. First came the inspector of the Legation escort, riding alongside of a Japanese officer of rank, named Nakai, who formerly

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belonged to the Satsuma clan ; then came the mounted escort, then Sir Harry Parkes, with Mr Satow and Gotō Shōjirō, a high officer of the Foreign Department ; then came a guard of infantry, belonging to the 9th Regiment, which is now stationed at Yokohama. I, having no horse, followed in a *kago*, or native sedan chair. As good luck would have it, Dr Willis, of the Legation, and some naval officers whom Sir Harry had invited to Kioto, among whom were two medical officers, Drs Purves and Ridings, had accompanied us on foot in order to see us enter the palace. Down a straight street nearly facing our temple, the front men passed without let or hindrance, but as they turned the corner of the street two or perhaps more ruffians sprang out upon them with naked swords and attacked them. Nakai leaped from his horse and engaged one, but catching his foot in his trousers, stumbled, and received a severe cut in the head. At this moment Gotō Shōjirō, who with the Minister had not yet turned the corner, perceiving from the backing of the horses and the scuffle in front that there was mischief ahead, dismounted, and, rushing forward, came to Nakai's rescue, and between them, fighting like brave men, they killed and decapitated the villain on the spot. The other scoundrel, crouching like a tiger, ran swiftly down our line, brandishing his sword like lightning, and cutting right and left in his blind rage. It was like a Malay running amuck, only with a more deadly weapon. I, who was in the rear, saw a disturbance, but at first thought that it was only caused by restive horses, until I heard the cry 'Kill him!' 'Stop him!' 'Cut him down!' Then I saw the inspector of the escort come cantering down the street and fire his pistol, and some one said, 'We are attacked!'

I jumped out of my *kago*[1] just as the pistol went off close to me, and a woman fell down in front of me,

[1] Palanquin.

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frightened but not hurt. I saw a man rush into the house next me pursued by the inspector and the two officers commanding the Infantry Guard. I drew my sword and ran to the front, not knowing the extent of the danger and anxious to see whether all our party were safe. As I ran up the street, I met one man after another of the mounted escort coming down streaming with blood from their wounds, but not a man complained. I found the Minister at the angle of the street, with the headless body of one of our enemies at his feet, and ascertained that he was unhurt as well as all our officers. I then ran back to look after the man who had fled into the house, and who, I heard the officer of infantry say, was shot dead. Finding him still alive, I stayed by him in order, if possible, to protect him and to revive him sufficiently to subject him to an examination. Never shall I forget that little yard with the Japanese murderer lying in a pool of his own blood; for, besides being shot in the head, he had received several wounds from sword, bayonet and lance. Covered with mud and clotted with gore, so that his features were hardly human, he glared at me with the horror-stricken eyes of a man who sees his slayer before him. But my object was not to kill him, although, had he attempted to escape, I should have done so. I only kept watch over him until I could put two sentries to guard him, and I had some trouble to save him from the fury of those who had caught him red-handed. Our Japanese guard, I must add, had almost all run away, and only came back when the danger was past.

Of course going on to the Court was out of the question. We had twelve men wounded, including Nakai. . . . My special care was for our prisoner, for, of course, his evidence was all-important; all the coolies that could be got were wanted for our own men, so literally at the point of the sword I pressed in two honest shopkeepers to carry him, much to their

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disgust; but the choice was between that and killing him in cold blood; he was too weak and exhausted to walk.

And so we got home—a most dismal return. Our beautiful Temple [Chion-in] was turned into a ghastly hospital; our wounded men, bleeding as if their life must ebb out, lay patiently in the verandah waiting their turn of the assistance of the doctors, who, stripped to their shirts, seemed almost to multiply themselves, so quick and skilful were they. Shirts and sheets were being torn into bandages, buckets of bloody water were being emptied and refilled—everything one touched or saw was bloody.

My duty lay with the prisoner, whom we thought to be dying. . . . The following is his statement: 'My name is Ichikawa Samurō,[1] I am a priest from the Temple called Jorenji, Hegurigori, near Osaka; I left the castle this morning determined to kill all the foreigners that I might meet; I came to Kioto on the 2nd day of this month to form one of the Mikado's body-guard, and put up at the Temple called Hommanji, in the Temple street. I left it the day before yesterday and went to the castle. I was in the 1st Regiment at the castle, but could not agree with my companions, so determined to regulate my conduct according to my own ideas. I set out to kill foreigners. I had no accomplices. I pray to be examined, and if found guilty to be executed and my crime made known throughout the Empire.'

At a second examination, . . . he said: 'I had an accomplice, one Hayashida; I forget his other name. He is the son of a village doctor not belonging to the samurai class, from Katsura-mura, a village near Kioto. He is a Rōnin. He belonged to the 1st Regiment of Guards. I heard last night from the servants that foreigners were going to Court, and

[1] It afterwards appeared that the two men had shortly before changed their names.

waited to see them pass. Did not know to what nation they belonged. It was the first time I had seen foreigners. I repent of my crime. It was a sudden thought on the part of both of us. I had no previous hatred to foreigners.' [On being shown the head of the man who had been decapitated in the street—up to this time he did not know of his death]—'This is the head of Hayashida. Since he is dead I wish to live no more. Please cut off my head as soon as possible. We had been drinking together at a wine shop, I forget the name of the shop. . . .' 1868 ÆT. 40

In the evening the Mikado, whose Court had been shocked, as we can well imagine, by the news, sent several of his highest Ministers to present his condolences and regret for what had occurred; this, taken in conjunction with the gallant behaviour of his officers and with the prompt punishment inflicted for recent outrages, could leave no doubt of the horror which was expressed. They inquired with great solicitude after our wounded.

The following morning a further examination of the prisoner was held by a Japanese officer, . . . who, after cunningly worming himself into the prisoner's confidence, by pretending to be himself a hater of foreigners, got out of him the names of three other accomplices, also belonging to the 1st Regiment, who had been waiting in a house further down the street to follow up the action of himself and Hayashida, should they only partially succeed in their murderous purpose. . . . The prisoner expressed himself very grateful for, and astonished at, the kindness which he had received from those he had sought to kill. I took him tea, rice and tobacco, and filled his pipe for him, and after a while he got quite friendly and confidential. He is a most hideous fellow, with fierce rolling black eyes, and the hair on his large head, which as a priest he shaved all over, beginning to grow; this, with his stained bandages and pale face, gives him a ferocious

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appearance. We had a long talk; he was very grateful for our kindness to him; but begged again to be executed as soon as possible. As Hayashida was dead, he had no desire but to die too. He had heard the fame of Mr Satow as a Japanese scholar, but did not know to what nation he belonged, nor what nation he had attacked. He felt ashamed, he said, when he thought of the care and attention which he had received. As for me, I begin to feel towards him as one might towards a dangerous wild beast that is beginning to show signs of tameness. It is an odd sensation, sitting talking to one's would-be murderer. The three men whom he denounced were arrested and examined without delay. Of course they denied complicity.

In the afternoon the Mikado sent his Ministers a second time, bringing with them a despatch conveying in writing the apologies they had delivered orally the night before, and offering a very full reparation, volunteering to indemnify such men as might be disabled by their wounds from gaining their living, and should any unfortunately die to pension their families. Nothing could be more noble, nothing more unlike the Government with which we have hitherto had to deal, than the language of the Mikado's Ministers. Sir Harry Parkes had made no complaint, and had demanded no reparation. The spontaneity of the Japanese action was complete, and a great relief from the bullying and endless disputing which we have had to adopt hitherto. . . .

The reason of the attack was perfectly irrational and to us unintelligible. As a French officer said, there is a party in Japan to whom the sight of a foreigner is as a red rag to a bull. They believe in the assertion of a priest of Isé who lived one hundred years ago, and wrote a pamphlet to prove that the children of Japan are gods, and the rest of the world cats and dogs. Should cats and dogs defile the city, the Court, and the sacred presence of the Son of Heaven?

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Among the prisoner's papers was found a document containing his political creed. He is against foreigners; he thinks it right that the Mikado should govern; he has heard that a barbarian doctor has polluted the holy city. So a mission of charity is turned into an excuse for murder.[1] . . .

Nakai Kōzō cut off the head of the assailant whom, with the help of Gotō Shōjirō, he had slain, and while he was under treatment for his wounds kept it by his bedside to hasten his recovery. Nakai was afterwards an official of the Gwaimusho (Foreign Department), and latterly the Prefect of the Otsu Ken. Gotō Shōjirō held high positions under the new Government, but eventually engaged in commerce; among other enterprises he became interested in the celebrated Takashima coal mine. He was, I believe, the founder of the so-called radical party, and is now ennobled and Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. The Queen presented swords of honour to both Nakai and Gotō, in token of her appreciation of their gallantry on this occasion.

The Japanese Government made every reparation in their power to the British Minister. One of the two assailants, who had been captured by Mr Mitford, was degraded and decapitated a few days after. He had been twice a Buddhist priest and twice a soldier. The deed seems to have been a mere fanatic freak. On the day after the execution a decree was published that all persons, samurai as well as others, who attacked foreigners should be punished in proportion to the gravity of the attack, samurais being first of all degraded.

The successful authors of the *coup d'état* found the task of reconstruction no easy one. The prestige of the Mikado was theirs, but the only government Japan as a whole had ever known was that of the Shogun. What they did was, in effect, to distribute his power, really among themselves, nominally among the daimios and certain of their

[1] This alludes to Dr Willis' two visits to Kioto—the first to attend the Satsuma wounded men, the second to the sick Prince of Tosa.

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retainers. There were a *Sōsai* or Prime Minister with two assistants (who were the *kugé*, afterwards so well known, Sanjō and Iwakura), *Gijō*, who formed an executive council which replaced the Gorōjiu, and *Sanyō* or members of a consultative body which answered to the assemblies of *fudai* daimios. The administration was confided to eight departments. It is not improbable that the Gijō was very much in the hands of subordinate samurai, among whom were such men as Kido, Okubo, Terashima, and the two Chōshiu students Ito and Inouyé, who on their return from England in 1864 had tried, but vainly, to adjust the quarrel between their clan and foreigners. This amplified Shogunate, with the Shogun replaced by the Mikado, was generally accepted save in portions of the north and east, and worked fairly well for a time. One of its earliest acts was to issue a manifesto, signed by the Sovereign himself, —whose name, Mutsuhito (which may be translated the Benevolent Humane One), was thus, for the first time in Japanese history, made public,—and addressed to the Treaty Powers, announcing the abolition of the Shogunate and the assumption of supreme authority in the internal and external affairs of the country by the Heaven-Child. Attacks upon foreigners were forbidden by a widely circulated edict, but the 'evil sect called Christians' was still strictly prohibited. Most of the native Christians, whose form of faith was Roman Catholic, lived in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki. There were in all some 4000 of them, and the Government plan was to distribute them among a number of daimios in the expectation that the sect would thus die out. Their treatment was, in too many cases, extremely harsh, and a large proportion soon found that peace in death which their persecutors refused them in life. To the honour of these poor men it must be recorded that very few of them could be induced to forsake their faith. It was not until 1873 that the notice-boards at the entrance to every village condemning the 'evil sect' were removed.

Meanwhile Sir Harry Parkes had procured new

credentials from Her Majesty, which he presented to the Mikado on the 22nd of May. On the 23rd the Queen's birthday was kept, and a banquet was given by Sir Henry Keppel, on board H.M.S. *Rodney*, to the members of the Government, including many court and territorial nobles who had never before mixed with foreigners. The process of evolution continued, and it would be interesting, did space allow, to trace the gradual modification by western ideas of the Shintō-Confucianist habit of mind, which governed the political action of the ruling class during the last years of the Bakufu. In November the *nengo* or year-period was changed from Kei-ō (Joyous Concord) to Meiji (Enlightened Government or Brilliant Rule), and it was decreed that there should in future be only one period for each reign. A further concession to the new spirit was seen in the visit of the Mikado to Yedo,[1] the name of which was at the same time changed to Tokio or Eastern Capital, Kioto being known as Saikio or Western Capital, a name now little used. A good account by an eye-witness of the Mikado's entry, which took place on the 26th November, is given in the *Japan Times* of a day or two later. The following extract will be read with interest as descriptive of a part of the last purely Japanese pageant either Japan or the world is likely to see :— 1868 ÆT. 40

> After about half of these [the daimios and *kugés*] had passed, with their attendants, led horses, guards and baggage, with occasional bodies of troops, came the Prince of Bizen, in charge of two square boxes borne high upon men's shoulders, and covered with a red and yellow damask silk. These were believed to contain the insignia or regalia, and small shrines for their safe custody had been erected at all the halting-places along the road. After these rode Uwajima, the

[1] 'Yedo' is a Japanese compound, meaning the Gateway of the Creek—a very apt and picturesque name. 'Tokio' is one of the bastard Chinese compounds with which the Japanese love to disfigure the beautiful language of their foregoers.

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Minister for Foreign Affairs, and then we saw approaching the Hō-ō-ren or phoenix car.

This is a black lacquered palanquin, about six feet square, and with a dome-shaped roof; the front is closed only by curtains, and in the centre of each side is a latticed window, through which it was possible to see that it held no one. The Mikado is supposed to travel in it, but has really a more comfortable palanquin. On the summit is a splendid image, apparently of gold, of the Hō-ō or phoenix, a fabulous bird, with the head and body of a peacock and the spreading plume-like tail of the magnificent copper pheasant of Japan turned up over its head. From the four corners depend red silk ropes two inches thick, held each by three men. These and the bearers of the car, which is carried high upon their shoulders and on a frame which raises its base some six feet from the ground, were on Thursday all dressed in bright yellow silk, and wore a curious circular ornament of feathers at each ear eight inches in diameter, like two outspread fan frames placed together. There were fully sixty of them immediately surrounding the Ho-ō-ren, and the effect of the group, with the brilliant sun lighting up the sheen of the silk and the glitter of the lacquer, was very gorgeous and indescribably strange, comparable to nothing ever seen in any other part of the world. And now a great silence fell upon the people. Far as the eye could see on either side, the roadsides were densely packed with the crouching populace, in their ordinary position when any official of rank passes by. . . . As the phoenix car . . . with its halo of glittering attendants came on . . . the people without order or signal turned their faces to the earth, . . . no man moved or spoke for a space, and all seemed to hold their breath for very awe, as the mysterious presence, on whom few are privileged to look and live, was passing by.

Some of Mr Satow's letters to his chief, written in August of this year, vividly portray the curious unrest

of the time. The contemplated transfer of the Government to the eastern capital, the Mikado's entry into which has just been described, is mentioned. It ought to be added that this important and indeed decisive development of Okubo's policy was initiated by Kido. 1868 Æt. 40

From E. M. Satow Yedo Aug. 18

I started this morning at nine o'clock to call upon Komatsu.[1] . . . I found that Komatsu had already gone to the castle. I went therefore to call upon Okuma. I found him in his bed, looking very ill. . . . Fighting commenced at Imaichi near Nikko on the 13th instant, and the Imperialists are reported to be victorious and gradually advancing on Aizu, which is only twenty *ri* from Nikko. . . . Subsequently to the fall of Nagaoka more fighting took place, in which both sides lost a large number of men; and the Imperialists held their ground without advancing, as they expected a further reinforcement which would enable them to advance on Aizu at the same moment as the Shirakawa and Akita divisions. The Prince of Hizen had been urged by his troops to lead them against the enemy, but his *karō* have dissuaded him from taking the field. I endeavoured to find out from Okuma what are the functions of the department which I have translated 'executive.' He says it represents the Executive Department in the United States Constitution, . . . in fact it is the head of the Shinto, Financial, War, and Foreign Departments.

After that I went to call on Katsu.[2] He says that Suruga was to be handed over to the Tokugawa family the day before yesterday and that Kawada Kannoské had gone down to take possession. Katsu pulled down from a shelf a memorandum in which he had noted down some years ago the names of the most talented men of different clans. Many of them were already

[1] A man of great intelligence and charming address, who died shortly afterwards.

[2] Katsu Awa no Kami. As a Bakufu official he had been sent to offer terms to Chōshiu in 1866. He is still living.

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dead. Satsuma and Choshiu showed the largest number of names; the Tokugawa very few. All our friends of Satsuma, Choshiu, and Tosa were among the number of those still living. We were looking at some old political memoranda when one of the metsukés, Tsumagi Nakazukasa,[1] with whom I dined the last time I was here by myself, came in. He returned from Mito four days ago, where he had left the ex-Tycoon in good health, busily employed in composing Japanese poetry. He sent an affectionate message to Katsu, which Tsumagi appeared to be afraid of delivering before me, but it turned out to be nothing more than a warning to keep himself out of danger. In reply to questions of mine Tsumagi said that the Mito men who went to join Aizu are only 500 in number, and that they are the same lot whom we heard of two or three months ago. The grandson of Takeda Kounsai[2] is still living and in great force. Lastly, that the *Gazette* is right in saying that men have been sent to fetch the Mimbu Taiyu. Tsumagi appeared to be afraid that the French would not allow him to return to Japan, and Katsu told me afterwards that Kurimoto came back with the same idea. The result of Katsu and Tsumagi's interview was that there was nothing in the present state of affairs about which they need trouble themselves.

The Tokugawa people are very desirous to get Katsu to take office under Kamenoské,[3] but he declines. He talks of wishing to leave the clan and travel: in fact he no doubt hopes to serve the Mikado. I asked Katsu whether he had heard anything of a general feeling of dislike towards the English. That he said was an old thing, which dated from the time when you

[1] He was a Tokugawa *metsuké* or censor.

[2] Also known as T. Hikokuro and T. Iga no Kami. As a member of the Sonjo party in Mito he took up arms against the Bakufu in 1864-1865, and with many others was put to death. His grandson, then eighteen, who was with him, escaped. Among Mito men Takeda is still regarded as a hero.

[3] A boy of six who had been made lord of the Tokugawa *han* on the abolition of the Shogunate.

used to advise the Rojiu[1] against proceeding to extremities with Choshiu. The idea was no doubt fostered by Roches, who told the Rojiu that unless they applied to the English Government for naval instructors, the English would lend their assistance to the daimios: and the small amount of confidence felt in the English was the cause of the engagement of the Dutchmen who came with the *Kaiyomaru*. Tsumagi confirmed Komatsu's story about the victory gained by the troops landed by the *Kaiyomaru* at Hirakata, and added that they are probably at Shirakawa by this time. Three hundred Satsuma troops entered Yedo the day before yesterday. 1868 ÆT. 40

There are several parties of foreigners in Yedo, some of whom stop at the American Legation and others at the hotel. The commercial quarter of Yedo is very lively, but the neighbourhood of the daimios' *yashikis* is like a city of the dead. The sixth number of the *Municipal Gazette* contains a notification against unlicensed newspapers.

He [Kawakatsu[2]] does not appear much affected by the political changes which have taken place except that he regrets his lands having been forfeited and wishes he had gone up to Kioto in February like the other 130 wise *hatamotos*. He does not wish to go to Suruga, but rather to take service with the Mikado. Suruga in fact is a ruin as far as the castle is concerned, and there are no houses for the retainers to live in. He did not know when Kamenoské would move, nor when he was likely to go to Kioto. The clan will be able to support a good number of two-sworded men, although 30,000 will be too large a number to keep on. None have asked to become retainers of the Mikado or to be dismissed by Kamenoské, at least so Kawakatsu said: but I fancy the statement must be From E. M. Satow Yedo Aug. 20

[1] With the honorific *go*, Gorojiu, the Council of State under the Shoguns.
[2] K. Omi no Kami, a Tokugawa Commissioner (*bugyo*) for Foreign Affairs who early went over to the Mikadoist party.

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taken *cum grano*. My *betté*[1] all want to become Mikado's men, and have begged me to try to get them included in the corps of 300 which is to be kept up for the protection of foreign Legations or of foreigners generally, and I hear also that a good many *hatamotos* have dropped their swords and betaken themselves to Yokohama. After all it can't be so very hard a fate for them, seeing that their military spirit was already quite extinct.

From E. M. Satow Yedo Aug. 23

Komatsu and Nakai[2] came to see me the day before yesterday. The former is apparently very busy with all manner of things, such as providing money for the payment of their debt to the Société Générale, and re-establishment of the school of languages at the Kaiseijo.[3] He told me that the Commander-in-Chief has given the Yedo forts into his hands to do whatever he likes with them: that he is going to turn the brass guns into tempoes, and use the earth of the parapets for levelling the settlement; which I suppose is about the most profitable use which will ever be made of those forts. . . . With regard to the Yedo limits, I venture to think that they might be left as already fixed, and a notification could be issued by each Consul to his countrymen warning them against making long excursions at present. There does not however seem to be any danger at present in the vicinity of Yedo. Three hundred of the old *betté gumi*[4] Legation guards are to be hired by the Imperial Government for the protection of the Legations and the settlement, it being considered that they will get on better with foreigners than a detachment of troops would. Komatsu wanted to know whether the Representatives would retain their old temples or remove

[1] Special guards appointed to protect foreigners.

[2] Nakai Kōzō. With Gotō Shōjirō he defended Sir Harry's party on the occasion of the attack in 1868. He was afterwards Prefect of Otsu and at all times well inclined to foreigners.

[3] 'Office for examining [barbarian] writings'—the historical nucleus of the present *Teikoku Daigaku* or Imperial University of Japan.

[4] See above: *gumi* simply means 'company.'

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to the settlement: I told him that I supposed the former would be the case. Kido came up to Yedo to see what is the exact condition of affairs here in order to make a report to the Imperial Government, and is expected here again shortly. Komatsu did not evidently wish to say anything definite about the Mikado's visit here: . . . but there is little doubt I think that the question is being debated. Inouyé[1] Iwami, whom I saw yesterday, seemed to think even that Yedo might become the capital, because it would be difficult to keep the northern clans in order from so distant a place as Kioto. Dewa and Mutsu have always had a very bad character for insubordination from the earliest times. Nakai showed me the day before yesterday the draft of Gotō's memorial of last September proposing the restoration of the Imperial Government. It differs from the final copy in containing proposals to engage French and English teachers for a school in Osaka, and English military instructors, and a plan for abolishing the Shogunate and reducing the Tokugawa clan to the level of the daimios. The first two points were abandoned in order that the promoters might not be suspected of too great a partiality for foreigners, and the latter to avoid exciting the hostility of the *fudais* and *hatamotos*. . . . Five hundred Satsuma men fresh from the south embarked the day before yesterday from Shinagawa in the *Gerard* and *Rover;* the latter vessel having been pressed into the transport service, much to Inouyé's disgust. Both steamers started yesterday morning, and are expected to be off Hirakata to-day. Shimidzudani's instructions will therefore arrive rather later than was expected, though before Eusden's departure from Hakodaté. . . . Inouyé appears very desirous of developing the resources of Hakodaté, but is rather ignorant I fancy of the best way to do it. He has been eight years at Kioto, and hitherto entirely unacquainted with

[1] A Satsuma samurai afterwards lost in the *Rover* off the coast of Yezo.

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foreigners and foreign ideas, so that he may be looked upon as rather an original genius. . . . I have been told that the Higo people sent private messengers to Aizu to try whether a reconciliation could not be effected, but the latter declare that matters had gone too far, and must be decided by the sword. I fancy these messengers are the same Higo men who called upon me about two months ago and said they were going to Tsugaru: they argued that any other system than the feudal was impossible for Japan. . . . Nakai also showed me a long letter to Kioto on the subject of the Christians, in which your arguments to Komatsu were repeated word for word as being your views upon the subject.

From E. M. Satow Aug. 24

I saw Okubo Ichizō yesterday but failed to elicit much from him. . . . He has asked leave to go to Sendai in order to persuade the Prince to give up the Aizu cause. He will still however continue to hold his appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Sanjō and Okubo are both to stop here for an indefinite length of time. I spoke to Komatsu about guard-houses for the settlement; he said that on the same principle which had been adopted at Osaka they should be established here,—simply to keep two-sworded ruffians from walking into foreigners' houses just as they please. He had discussed the question with Robertson and the Dutch Consul at Osaka in the presence of Mitford. Robertson objected to the guard-houses on the ground that they gave temptation to squeeze the merchants going in and out of the settlement, but he gave in afterwards to the argument that some protection was necessary. Komatsu also told me that their idea about the Naval Mission is to retain the service of the commissioned officers and to send away the petty officers and seamen. . . .

I have at last contrived to make a translation of the remaining part of the Constitution. I cannot decide what is the best word for the second Department. I am divided between Imperial Council, Privy Council,

and Cabinet. In actual fact it appears that the sub-officials of this department are merely secretaries to the two Prime Ministers and have no real executive authority; and that the Cabinet is divided into this nameless department and the other four which follow it. This is the explanation given me by Okubo. It is also pretty clear that this Constitution is not the final one, and in fact I think it contains in itself the elements of change: there are so many appointments which are held by dummies, while the work is done by their underlings. The ancient ranks and precedence are quite done away with. I can't help thinking that the daimios and *kugés* will have to be struck out of the list. There is hardly one of them fit to occupy the place of a head of department and yet these appointments are confined to them. No commoner can be either a *gijō* or a *chikwanji*. 1868 ÆT. 40

From E. M. Satow Yedo Aug. 26

Taking advantage of an interval between the showers yesterday I went down to the settlement to find Nakai and tell him what your views on the opening of Yedo are, and I had the satisfaction of seeing him write at once to Yokohama to propose October for the opening, abolition of the passport system, and the despatch of one of the naval instructors to buoy the channel. The owners of the hotel have to be consulted as to the engagements of a foreign manager. I don't think any one in Yokohama could be found to rent that immense building, but I don't doubt we could find a respectable man in Yokohama who would act as steward for the proprietors, make out their bills and purchase wines and provisions. The *yashiki*[1] you mention belongs to Toki Hayato no Shō of Numata in Kōzuké. Some time ago a man in Yokohama offered a *yashiki* for sale, which I believe was this very one. I sent yesterday to know whether I might visit the

[1] The mansions or 'palaces' of the daimios in Yedo were so called. A very interesting account of them by Sir Harry's nephew, the late Mr T. R. M'Clatchie, will be found in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. vii. pt. 3.

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place, and the answer this morning is, any time I please. I have also sent to Yokohama to try if the man above mentioned is to be found. Do you wish to rent or to buy? It probably would be cheaper to do the latter. My house for instance could I believe be bought for six months' rent, but then it is a tumble-down old affair; probably Toki's *yashiki* is in better repair.

I tried to get from Nakai the document which you wish for: there was some reluctance, but I hope to overcome that. I hear from Nakai that part of the machinery of the mint has broken down and that they are trying to repair it, and his account is that the Saibansho proposed to the Representatives to reduce the daily amount from 50,000 rios to 50,000 dollars; that a large number of dollars, about 40,000, came up to Yedo to be recoined the day before yesterday.

The Imperialists are evidently gathering their strength for a combined attack on Aizu, and, as Nakai says, if they can't smash him up this time and with such a force, they never will be able to. Nakahara Naoské, the bearded Satsuma man who is ordinarily believed to be their admiral, but is really an artillery officer, has been sent to Echigo with four companies of artillery, and is expected to do great wonders. Yesterday morning two hundred more troops marched past to Shinagawa, whence they were to embark for the north. A number of Chōshiu men who arrived on the 22nd are billeted in Sengakuji. The American barque *Despatch* was engaged to carry as many men as could be stowed away on board of her to Hirakata, for 3000 dollars, but for some reason or other the Japanese refused to embark after the money had been paid. I believe they are trying to get their dollars back again. I saw the contract in the captain's own handwriting.

Ever since the opening of the ports currency difficulties had hampered commercial operations. The only coin in which transactions could be settled was the *ichibu* (*lit.* one part, *i.e.* one quarter of a *rio*), a roughly-made

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rectangular tablet of silver (often greatly debased), half as heavy again as a shilling, bearing its value on one side and on the other 'authentic current mintage' stamped in Chinese characters. The exchange (of Mexican dollars into ichibus) fluctuated considerably—averaging in 1868 about 240 ichibus to 100 dollars—so that the merchant, Japanese or foreign, never knew exactly what he had to pay or receive. Foreign officials, naval and military and consular officers, for reasons too long to give here—they were just enough, but the practice was abused—were allowed to exchange a certain number of dollars monthly, bearing an assumed proportion to their pay, at the rate of 300 ichibus to 100 dollars, which privilege (abolished, it is believed, in 1865) added materially to their income. In July 1868 the whole system of exchange was altered by a notification obtained through the representations of Sir Harry Parkes, and the rate was fixed at 293 ichibus per 100 dollars, an arrangement which appears to have satisfied all parties. Eventually the plant of the Hong-kong mint was purchased, upon Sir Harry's advice, and set up at Osaka, where it began to work in 1871, and the present excellent system of Japanese coinage was inaugurated.

In the spring of the year Mr Consul Flowers of Nagasaki was able to write :—

> The natives evince the most ardent desire to trade with foreigners, and to exchange commodities, that they only want the opportunity afforded them. . . . So anxious are they to learn that there is not a single steamer that enters the harbour but they are sure to visit and take minute copies of everything they see, and such rapid progress have they made with regard to machinery that they are able to work all the steamers they have recently purchased themselves.[1] The people are quick and intelligent, and it is a rare thing to meet with a native who cannot read and write.

[1] During 1867 twenty-two steamers and sailing vessels had been bought, almost all British, at Nagasaki by or for thirteen daimios of the west and south for the sum of 1,163,988 dollars.

CHAPTER XXVIII

NEW JAPAN

1869

1869 Æt. 40 On the 20th January 1869 the Mikado, who had previously received the foreign Ministers in state audience, left Yedo—or Tokio as the old capital of the Tycoon must henceforth be called—to return to Kioto. The descendant of the sun-goddess was doubtless glad enough to come down from his pedestal, and emerged from the sacrosanct isolation of his foregoers without any reluctance. Of the good sense and quiet dignity which have marked his whole reign he gave abundant proof, young as he was, from the day he first showed himself to his people. Writing to Lord Stanley[1] on the 26th Sir Harry, after describing the ceremonies attending His Majesty's departure, much simpler in character than those which inaugurated his entry into Yedo, adds :—

> . . . I must confess, my Lord, to a feeling of some admiration on observing the sensible and unostentatious way in which this Sovereign—accustomed to think of himself and a long line of ancestors as demi-gods—addresses himself, upon the advice of his councillors, to the practical duties of his new station. No attempt at compromise between his former pseudo-sacred and his present secular position appears to be

[1] Foreign Secretary in Mr Disraeli's Government, which had, however, fallen at the end of 1868.

attempted. The object aimed at seems to be that he shall be known as a Sovereign possessing no exceptional or unnatural attributes, but charged with the welfare of some millions of his fellow-beings, whose interests he is to watch over by the aid of national advisers. 1869 ÆT. 40

A few days before His Majesty left Yedo I witnessed his embarkation in a small steam-yacht of very moderate dimensions, in order to inspect the few Japanese ships then lying in the bay. One of the ships he visited got up steam and conveyed His Majesty a short distance round the bay. I believe this to have been the first time that he had been afloat, and the step involved a marked innovation on previous practice, and even some disregard of native superstition.

On the 9th February the Foreign Representatives, whose collective action throughout these years was at bottom the work of the British Minister, withdrew the neutrality notifications they had issued in 1868, and from that moment the cause of the northern daimios, already desperate, was altogether lost. The ram *Stonewall Jackson* was handed over to the Imperial Government, and played an important part in the reduction of Hakodaté. The difficulties of the Government, however, were still very considerable; indeed their real difficulties were only beginning. Political assassinations were common, discontent was everywhere rife among the samurai, and partial risings of the peasantry, irritated by increased taxation and irregular 'benevolences,' were frequent. The Court noble Iwakura Tomomi, a *gijō*, and one of the ablest statesmen of the time, retired from office, of which, nevertheless, according to the curious Japanese custom, he continued to exercise the functions —behind instead of before the curtain. There was in fact no real Government at all, and it began to be clear to the leading men at the centre of the situation that the time was come to replace the Home Rule system of

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Tokugawa days—to use the language of modern politics —by a centralized and unified administration. The position of affairs was admirably set forth in a despatch, of which an extract must suffice :—

To the Earl of Clarendon Yokohama April 13

Although it is not easy to follow the proceedings of the leading politicians of Japan in regard to their own internal affairs, it has been obvious for some time past that they have been earnestly engaged in considering among themselves the measures which shall be adopted in order to give power and consistency to the new form of Government. It appears that their deliberations are now producing important results. They have doubtless seen that an effective general Government could not exist side by side with the numerous petty Governments and almost independent powers of the different daimios. They have, therefore, induced some of the leading men of the latter class to set the example of offering to give up their fiefs, with their jurisdiction and revenues, in order that these may be used to form a general Government administered by the Sovereign with the aid of Ministers and a National Council. The initiative in this remarkable movement appears to have been taken by the clans of Satsuma, Chōshiu, Tosa, and Hizen, and their reasons for the step are fully stated in the joint memorial, of which I enclose a translation, prepared by Mr Mitford. Similar representations are being rapidly sent in by other daimios, and published by the Government as they are received. I add translations of those of Akizuki Ukiō no Suké, Toda Unémé no Shō, and Matsudaira Shōshō—three daimios whose names are almost unknown to foreigners, but who may be regarded in some sense as representative men.

Portions of the memorials of which translations were enclosed with the preceding are added :—

Memorial of the daimios of the West

In the humble opinion of certain ministers (*i.e.* in our opinion) the Great Body (the Imperial Government) must not lose a single day, the Great Strength must

not delegate its power for a single day. Since the Heavenly Ancestors established the foundations of the country, the Imperial line has not failed for ten thousand ages. Heaven and Earth (*ie.* Japan) are the Emperor's: there is no man who is not his retainer: this constitutes the Great Body. By the conferring of rank and property the Emperor governs his people: it is his to give and his to take away: of our own selves we cannot hold a foot of land: of our own selves we cannot take a single man: this constitutes the Great Strength. In ancient times the Emperor governed the Sea-Girt Land, and trusting to the Great Body and the Great Strength, the Imperial wisdom of itself ruled over all: truth and propriety being upheld, there was prosperity under heaven. In the middle ages the ropes of the net were relaxed, so that men, toying with the Great Strength and striving for the Power, crowded upon the Emperor: and half the world tried to appropriate the people and to steal the land. Beating, and gnawing, and theft, and rapine, were the order of the day. . . . 1869 ÆT. 41

Now that men are seeking for an entirely new Government, the Great Body and the Great Strength must neither be lent nor borrowed. . . . We now reverently offer up the list of our possessions and men. . . . Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. . . . Let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to him (the Emperor). . . .

[*Note.*—This document, the composition of which is attributed to Kido Jiunichirō, formerly of the Chōshiu clan, is said to have been signed by Kaga, Hizen, Satsuma, Chōshiu, Tosa and the other daimios of the West. The copy from which the translation is made bears no signature.]

Extract from another Memorial

Let those who wish to show their faith and loyalty act in the following manner, that they may firmly establish the foundations of the Imperial Government:—

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1. Let them restore the territories which they have received from the Emperor, and return to a constitutional and undivided country.

2. Let them abandon their titles, and under the name of Kazoku (persons of honour), receive such small properties as may suffice for their wants.

3. Let the officers of the clans, abandoning that title, call themselves officers of the Emperor, receiving property equal to that which they have hitherto held.

Let these three important measures be adopted forthwith, that the Empire may be raised on a basis unperishable for all ages.

I have heard that Satsuma, Chōshiu, Tosa, Owari, Hizen and others have already adopted this decision. What greater felicity could there be for the country?

In the above the curious mixture of Shintō and Confucianist principles applied to politics referred to in Chapter XXII is sufficiently apparent. The 'Great Strength' is the political *taikioku*.

Shortly afterwards Sir Harry Parkes wrote to Lord Clarendon:—

Yedo, May 13, 1869

I have forwarded in previous despatches translations of several of the memorials presented to the Throne by daimios who have voluntarily offered to transfer their territories and rights of Government to the Emperor. I now beg leave to add to these the memorial of the Prince of Unshiu, as this document describes, in expressive language, the manner in which the daimios became possessed of their powers, and the prejudice thereby occasioned to the authority of the Sovereign, which the writer considers should be re-established on its former basis.

The translations now in your Lordship's hands may suffice to illustrate the arguments used by the Princes in support of this movement, which is rapidly becoming general. By the enclosed memorandum, which has been prepared by Mr Mitford, it will be seen that already, on the 16th ultimo, 118 daimios, represent-

ing 12,000,000 of *kokus*[1] of assessed revenue, or the equivalent of £24,000,000 sterling, had signified their adhesion to the proposed restoration of power to the Sovereign. The total number of daimios of all classes is given at 276, and the aggregate of their revenues is estimated at rather less than 20,000,000 of *kokus*. Consequently, on the 16th April the movement was already supported by a majority in point of means, and the fact of no less than thirteen of the eighteen independent nobles (*kokushiu*) having joined in it shows that a preponderating influence had at that date been secured in favour of the measure. 1869 ÆT. 41

The results of these proposals, however, cannot be foreseen until the question is seriously debated at the general councils that are about to be held at Yedo, and to which the Emperor has scrupulously referred every offer that has been submitted to him.

The memorial is omitted as mainly repetitive of what has preceded. Further extracts from the Blue-Book (Japan, 1868-1870[2]), given at the end of the chapter, will complete the view of native opinion at this interesting crisis in Japanese history.

Advantage may here be taken of the slight lull that now occurred in political affairs to introduce a few of Sir Harry Parkes' letters, written at this time, to his friend Sir Brooke Robertson, the Consul at Canton. The correspondence speaks volumes for the affectionate and considerate feelings of the Minister towards his old colleague whom he had somewhat distanced in life's race. And so scanty is the available private correspondence of the Minister, the main record of whose career must be gathered from his despatches, that any illustrations of the warm and genial nature of the man will be welcome, at least to those—not Englishmen only—to whom for so

[1] See Appendix (B).

[2] In this Blue-Book an authentic and vivid narrative of the Revolution is presented in an eminently readable form.

1869 Æt. 41 many years 'Sir Harry' was the name best known and most honoured in the Far East.

To Sir D. Brooke Robertson Yokohama Feb. 13

I have been a sad correspondent and can offer no apologies for my neglect. It is all mismanagement—of an inveterate kind I fear—keeping private letters to the last on the despatch of each mail, and then finding that your public work occupies you to the last moment. . . . I am now sad in another sense, for I am again to be separated from my family. These separations are fearful thorns to eastern domestic life. Lady Parkes goes away from here on the 24th—our little boy's health obliges her to go, and it is no slight task for a lady to go home alone with three children.

Yokohama May 12

I wanted much to tell you that I am very well satisfied with your son.[1] I put him into the responsible post of Acting Vice-Consul at Osaka, and he is discharging the duties very well. Mitford of the Legation stays with him, and can help him when he wants help, which is not often.

Yokohama Aug. 2

You may depend upon it that I shall do all I can to promote his interests consistently with those of others, and this for the best of reasons, that he is a deserving and an efficient public officer. He is doing a great deal of heavy work at present in a very creditable manner. I confess to a great liking for him, not only because he is your son, but for a better reason still—his ability, or for both combined, and you may at least feel assured that he will not be neglected.

[1] Mr Russell Brooke Robertson, born in 1848, was the only son of Sir Daniel Brooke Robertson, Parkes' colleague in the expedition to Nanking in 1848, and the first Consul who lived at the new Consulate within the city of Canton. He entered the Consular service of Japan in 1860, and, after passing through the various grades of that service, was appointed in 1871 Consul at Yokohama. In 1881, when the British Court in Japan had been made independent of the Supreme Court in China, Mr Robertson, who had previously been called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, was appointed Assistant-Judge of the Court, an office he filled in conjunction with that of Consul. During a well-earned leave of absence, from which he had only just returned at the time of his sudden death, 10th April 1888, he was nominated a C.M.G. His memory is dear to every resident in Japan between the sixties and the eighties.

1869 ÆT. 41 Yokohama Aug. 29

I received yesterday at Yedo your kind and touching letter of the 17th, chiefly respecting your son. I came down last night and he dined with me and Adams, and we talked over his plan. I wished him good-bye at eleven o'clock and he is probably embarking just now. I am very sorry to lose him. . . . He is doing the right thing and will be back in six months full of work and perhaps in better spirits. . . . I am keeping this Vice-Consulate for him.

Lady Parkes left Yokohama on the 24th February. On the currency questions referred to in the following extracts from letters to her something has been already said:[1] they give as lucid an account as can be wished of the once famous '*bu*' difficulty, the settlement of which cost Sir Harry infinite trouble.

To his Wife Yedo April 7

Of public events there is nothing striking. We have a very troublesome question on hand in regard to the currency as the depreciation of *bus*[2] continues and trade is consequently nearly at a standstill. The Japanese wishing to buy foreign goods has to pay for them in dollars and he has to buy these dollars with *bus*. He has now to give four *bus* for a dollar instead of three or less, and the consequence is that he cannot afford this and has to do without the proposed purchase. Consequently the foreigner cannot sell his goods. The depreciation of the currency is caused by the Government having resorted to the foolish expedient of debasing their coin. Foreigners have also speculated in *bus* and now hold large quantities of inferior coin. An agitation is being got up to compel the redemption of this bad coin, a measure which would make the Government bankrupt. I expect that the question will give me a good deal of anxious work, for I shall not advocate extreme measures, and others among my colleagues will, as you can imagine. Another highly important matter is the meeting of the daimios, when the whole question of the new Constitution will be brought under debate.

[1] See above, p. 107. [2] Ichibus, often written *itzeboos*.

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Satsuma, Chōshiu, and some of the daimios have already set the noble example of offering to surrender their power if the Mikado will assume it. This example followed and a Parliament established to which all questions can be referred, political unity will have been effected. If accomplished, the present year will be a greater one for Japan than the last.

Yokohama
April 13

I remained at Yedo until the 10th and then came here, but shall go up again in a couple of days. Oscillation between the two places seems necessary if I am to keep myself well posted in affairs foreign as well as native. The former centre at Yokohama, the latter in Yedo. The currency question has occasioned great excitement lately. Owing to the belief that the Mikado's coinage is debased, *bus* fell to 400 even for the 100 dollars—instead of being as you know they should be—about 300. This caused great mischief to trade and indeed stopped it, because the Japanese in order to buy a dollar's worth of foreign goods had to give four *bus* for it instead of three, and not liking the enhanced price, gave up buying altogether. Again the foreign holders of *bus* were afraid that what they held was depreciated, that they might not recover what they gave for the *bus*. Thus men who had bought at 350 viewed with alarm the rise to 400, as they were just 50 *bus* per 100 dollars or about 15 per cent out of pocket. They raised the cry therefore that the Japanese Government should be called on by the Foreign Ministers to redeem all their coin, and pay the holders of it in good dollars—a proposal that in my opinion could not be entertained. A public meeting was held to consider this on the 9th and a resolution passed in favour of such a step. I am glad to say however that the majority for the resolution were chiefly foreigners, and the British members of the Chamber of Commerce sent in a letter to me disassociating themselves from the proposal, and thus greatly strengthening my hands, as by rejecting it—

which I should certainly have done under all circumstances—I have nearly the unanimous support of my countrymen. The other Ministers may meet their men as they best can. After much hammering at old Uwajima,[1] who has returned to the scene of business since you left, I made him take the steps necessary in my opinion to meet the case—namely, stopping all coining pending an investigation into the quality of the coin issued, and the announcement of this has sent *bus* back with a rebound which has almost helped us out of the difficulty. Still these excessive fluctuations are very pernicious and will not be corrected until a good mint shall have been established, and such an establishment must, I fear, be under the direction of a foreign superintendant. 1869 ÆT. 41

Sir Harry was no great talker in general society, though no one enjoyed a chat more than he did, but he was an interested observer—more interested than many of those who came into contact with him at all suspected. His intimate correspondence with Lady Parkes, among graver matters, contains not a few good-humoured hits at the oddities of foreign social life in Japan during the later sixties, but the allusions would be scarcely intelligible save to old residents.

The Japanese Parliament has opened at Yedo and the Mikado has again left Kioto for Yedo, to stay, I trust, this time; for Kioto is another Mecca for fanaticism and prejudice. We are recovering from our *bu* crisis, caused in a great measure by the dishonesty of the Government in debasing their coin. Fortunately I scolded them so severely that they became alarmed for the consequences and took the proper steps of stopping their coinage altogether, and this news has created a reaction in favour of *bus*, which are recovering again. Otherwise merchants were preparing enormous claims for losses, which certain Representatives would not have been unwilling to press—in order to make the To his Wife Yedo April 30

[1] Then Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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Mikado's Government bankrupt. *Our* merchants I am glad to say behaved with the most commendable moderation, while other foreigners bought up the bad coin, knowing it to be bad, in order, as they hoped, that they might compel the Japanese Government to redeem it with good.

Yedo May 10

The Mikado arrived in Yedo yesterday. This is a good thing, as at Kioto he was beyond the influences which are required to keep the Government in the groove of progress. A strong fanatical conservative element exists there, and many of these obstructives have now been removed to Yedo in order that they may not be mischievous if left to themselves at Kioto. Consequently we may encounter some trouble at their hands here. They have in some measure occasioned a crisis already. The trains of several of them insulted the foreigners they met between Yokohama and Yedo —making them get down from their carriages, threatening and abusing them, etc. Captain Stanhope and Vice-Consul Robertson were among the number thus slighted. Even in my own case one fellow tried to put his hand on my bridle as I trotted past his master's cortège, but he received a hint from me that prevented perseverance. These affairs have given me some trouble and I had to scold the Foreign Minister in no measured terms. He on the other hand complains that he is not properly supported by the Government, and consequently with all his colleagues in the Department tendered their resignations unless the Government should give their adhesion to a friendly and liberal foreign policy.

A great Council has been held to-day to consider the position. I shall be sorry to hear of the resignation if it should occur, as in that case we may look for antagonism. But I fancy the illiberal party will think better of it.

The French have a peck of troubles also. Three Frenchmen, one after the other, have been attacked in

Curio Street, Van der Voo being one and Lieutenant Dubousquet of the French Legation another. They were attacked because they were French, for in one case the assailants (Japanese) took the trouble to inquire if the man they attacked was French or English. Being told French, they fell upon him. An attempt also appears to have been made to burn the French Legation, which however was fortunately discovered by the sentry—the forage barn being the point selected. Why the French should be singled out in this way is mysterious. Outrey is exceedingly annoyed as you may imagine. 1869 ÆT. 41

We are all right politically. I have battled, I think successfully, with the reactionary spirit which was raising its head, and I trust the Government may yet acquire what it so much wants, cohesion and compactness. They rather partake at present of the character of a rope of sand, but time is everything to them, and every month gained without an actual split will add to the strength of the combination. I feel I am doing some good at Yedo, and I don't think the other ministers add to their influence by remaining at Yokohama. Yedo June 7

Politically we are going on very fairly. I stick by this nascent Government and try to keep them in the right groove—but it is sometimes tiresome work. Yedo June 12

The Duke of Edinburgh is due early in August. . . . It is not yet settled whether his reception at Yedo will be a private or official one. In the latter case he would be the Mikado's guest. I shall accept that arrangement if the Mikado would treat him properly as an equal, but unless this can be arranged it would be better that his visit should be private. At Peking it is already so arranged. I should not be sorry if the Japanese were to prove themselves in advance of the Chinese in this as in some other respects. Yedo June 25

I am in treaty for a new site for a Legation—the *yashiki* of Arima—next door to the pretty Satsuma

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yashiki which we used to visit—but which is pretty no longer, as every tree has been cut down. That of Arima, however, retains some very fine timber. If I obtain it, however, it will be six months before the plans which Crossman [1] is now thinking over can be sent home and approved, and certainly another twelve or eighteen months before the Legation can be built, so there is not much chance of our living in it unless we come out to Japan again. From this time it would take two years to erect the buildings, but in two years time I shall have served six years—if I live—as Minister, and seven and a half without leave.

A sad catastrophe has happened in the wreck of the *Hōjōmaro* North German steamer within two hours after her departure from Yokohama. When going at an immense speed she ran on a well-known rock—the captain having gone too near in the endeavour to save a short distance. Directly after striking, the steamer passed over the rock and almost immediately sank in deep water, before the people could get away in the boats. Some were saved, but a larger proportion drowned, among others I grieve to say poor Margesson who had come up to Japan to see the country before going home for good. It is a very sad case. He had dined with me only three days before, and we had sat up together until one o'clock talking over all old China friends and affairs. He told me that he thought you were looking very well as you passed through Hong-kong. . . . Poor fellow, he has gone to his last long home instead of the one he hoped to see in England. His body has not been recovered.

All the Frenchmen have left Enomoto at Hakodaté, and have given themselves up. They have been forwarded on to Saigon by M. Outrey—to be dealt with as the French Government may direct. They deserted Enomoto on the evening of a severe defeat, which does

[1] Now General Sir John Crossman, R.E.

not say much for their prowess. After instigating the Japanese to revolt, and countenancing them so long as they could do so without risk, they leave them on the first appearance of danger. This has added to the discredit they had already acquired, and will not improve the French reputation in Japan. Hakodaté may be taken by this time. The Mikado's forces approached the place however very gradually, and trusted to overwhelming numbers to obtain possession of it. The Eusdens[1] had been on board the *Pearl* for nearly a month, together with several other ladies and children—greatly to their inconvenience. I hope that we may soon hear that this last vestige of the war has been crushed. . . . 1869 ÆT. 41

The Mikado's Government will entertain him [the Duke of Edinburgh] at Yedo, I believe, which will be treating him better than at Peking, where he is to go incog., as Alcock cannot get a proper reception for him. I am not quite certain how my Japanese friends may behave, but they have commenced their preparations, and if at the last moment I see anything derogatory in their arrangements, I can decline the reception. So I have secured my vantage-ground. The principal difficulty in the matter is the mode of his reception by the Mikado himself, which must differ somewhat from ——,[2] as the Mikado will be receiving a scion of royalty, as his *equal* in point of blood. . . . In politics we are quiet and peaceful, but I had a good deal of work in making this Government run in the right groove. Yedo July 6

On the 24th I dined at Yokohama with the Phelps, and on coming home got wet. The next morning I had to come up to Yedo and got wet again. Then I had to dine at *Hama Goten*—a very damp hole—to meet the Prime Minister and other dignitaries who gave me an entertainment as an acknowledgment for Yedo July 28

[1] For this officer's appointments see above, p. 71.
[2] A blank in the original.

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the services I had rendered their Government in obtaining the recognition of their authority and other matters by my colleagues—the recall of the Neutrality Proclamations, etc.,—assistances which had enabled them to recapture Hakodaté much sooner than they otherwise would have done. Well, this was all very pleasant, with the exception of the damp air, which sent me home with a sore throat.

Yokohama Aug. 7

Had H. N. Lay[1] to lunch with me, and with various interruptions we talked till seven. Then we both slipped across to the Admiral's bungalow and dined there. I am constantly invited to go there at all times. . . . I mean to address myself during the next week to get the house in order for the Duke. You would be astonished if you were to see the state it is in. Every room in the hands of paperers, painters, or carpenters. The mess is so great that it appals me from its gravity. I suppose all will come straight, but certainly not if the Duke comes in a moment before his time.

Lay takes a gloomy view of the state of affairs at Peking. . . . The Chinese Government refuse to show the Duke of Edinburgh any courtesy, which is a curious comment upon the assurances of progress and liberality given by the Burlinghame Mission.

Yedo Aug. 20

On the 17th I returned to Yedo to resume some work and now comes a sad tale. The day before yesterday in the morning a typhoon burst upon us and raged violently throughout the day, indeed it had begun to blow when I laid down my pen on the second sheet of this letter. Here we had rough work of it but no serious damage done, save to Mitford's small house and another one that Siebold had just built. Yesterday afternoon the accounts came up from Yokohama and these are dreary enough. Wilkinson tells me that all our work in the front rooms at least will have to be done over again—the rain beat so strongly into your

[1] See vol. i. p. 276, 286, 319.

bedroom as to require three bathing tubs to catch the water that fell in cascades into the drawing-room below! It was a terrific gale and you know how greatly our house is exposed. It blew right on the face of our house. At Yedo I strove in vain to look in the direction in which the wind came. The Japanese say they have not had such a storm for fifteen years. Adams who was staying in the house, waiting for the Prince in my absence, tells me that the furniture was removed before it was much hurt, but I long to have a word from Mrs Hepburn,[1] as she will say exactly what mischief has been done in this respect. I am afraid that much of her labour will have been lost. I gather that the front drawing-room and morning sitting-room are the worst injured—the ceilings in these are stated to have come down, why I cannot think, as I had just had the *plaster* removed, and simply paper substituted. I would have galloped down yesterday to look at the wreck, but the Logo[2] river is impassable and to-morrow is mail day. I shall go down to-morrow afternoon, and must hope that the Prince will still keep out. But this can hardly be expected as he is already a fortnight behind his time. If he was anywhere near the coast on the 20th he will have caught it. Such a calamity however is less painful than distress which is attributable to the act of man—or worse to one's self. 1869 ÆT. 41

23rd August.—Another task on my mind is the reception of the Austrian Mission which may arrive any day from Peking. I am afraid they will come while the Prince is here, but in that case I of course cannot put them up. Alcock has had to do so at Peking.

At Yokohama the Frenchmen have been getting knocked about, and on this account we have had to replace the guards of last years. At Yedo we are checking the uneasy feeling which had manifested itself a fortnight ago and we are now quiet again. The Yedo Aug. 29

[1] Whose house was next to the Legation on the Bluff, Yokohama.
[2] The Rokugo between Yokohama and Tokio.

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parties who affronted Captain Stanhope and others on the Tōkaidō turn out to be *ladies* of the Court,[1] and hence the delay of the Government in giving up their names. The Mikado, not unnaturally, did not like his wives to be made the subject of public comment. However, a very ample apology has been made and all is square again,—especially as all trains and processions now meeting foreigners on the Tōkaidō are very careful how they behave to [them].

Adventure arrived two days ago at Yokohama, and Lady Keppel, who went up at once to the Legation. . . . I shall go down to-morrow to see her. She has with her a flag lieutenant, man and woman servant, and two children. Admiral has gone on to Peking, but will be here soon.

The official correspondence must now be resumed:—

To the Earl of Clarendon
Yedo
Aug. 23

I reported in my previous despatches of the 13th and 29th April and of the 13th May that a large proportion of the daimios had offered to place their lands at the disposal of the Mikado. The question was referred by His Majesty to the consideration of the Council then about to assemble at Yedo, and after protracted discussion the following result has been arrived at—

His Majesty has seen fit to accept the offer, and has made known the decision in the enclosed Decree. He has at the same time conferred on all the daimios the title of Chihanji, which may be translated 'Prefect of the Clan,' and they will in future govern their respective territories in the name of the Mikado. Many details remain to be arranged as to the employment of their revenues and the degree of authority with which they will continue to be invested. As a preliminary measure a new assessment of all their lands has been called for, the returns of which are expected to be sent in by the close of the year.

There can be little doubt that if this measure be

[1] That is, of course, the attendants in their train.

carried out it will have the effect, as stated in the Decree, of consolidating the authority of the Government. Every daimiate or prefecture, instead of having a separate autonomy of its own, will, in future, form a section of one great whole, and one general system of law and administration, working from an acknowledged centre, will be introduced. 1869 ÆT. 41

This voluntary subordination of this authority to that of the Mikado was supported by 241 daimios, and dissented from by only seventeen, who represented about one-fourteenth of the value of the fiefs. The Government having satisfied themselves that the measure was generally desired, directed these seventeen to conform their proceedings to those of the other daimios, and the order appears to have been uniformly obeyed.

Another important decree has appeared abolishing the distinction between the order of nobles known as *kugé*, who composed the hierarchical court of the Mikado prior to the reconstruction of the Government, and the daimios, or, as they have hitherto been termed, territorial nobles. Both classes have now been blended into one order, to be termed *kazoku* or nobles, and in future the title of 'Daimio,' which has become familiar to foreigners, will cease to be used by Japanese.

By a third Decree the Government have reserved to themselves the approval of all the appointments or offices held under the Chihanji (late daimios), which is another obvious step towards the subordination of all the local administrations to that of the central Government.

These measures having been determined on, the Chihanjis are commencing to leave Yedo, in order to give effect to them in their several territories or prefectures. They left these territories as semi-independent princes, and they now return to govern them as functionaries deputed by the general Government.

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To the Earl of Clarendon
Yedo
Oct. 28
(extr.)

Mr Student Interpreter Hall[1] has translated a Japanese pamphlet in three parts, called the 'Fuku-ko-Ron' (A Return to the Ancient Régime). In the first part the writer reviews the causes of the recent revolution and the legitimacy of the position which the Mikado has resumed. He maintains that the movement is essentially national, and that instead of being the work of a few daimios, it had its origin among the lower classes and spread from them to the upper.

Fuku-ko-Ron (A Return to the Ancient Régime)

A few extracts only can be given here:—

The present return to the ancient rule is, both in its origin and issue, the very reverse of the former. This time it is the people themselves who have originated the proposal of undivided allegiance to the Mikado. They read aright the lesson of the failure of Genko.[2] Started in the first instance by the *rōnins*, the movement gradually spread among the *kerais*, from the *kerais* it reached the *karō*, from the *karō* it was communicated to the daimios; thus, initiated by the people,[3] and thus energetically propagated, it grew and spread daily, until at length it resulted almost, as it were, spontaneously, in a return to the old form of Government. Hence, even if the Mikado were now to change his policy, since the opinion of the people would not concur in the change, it is impossible that the Government should again revert to the military class. . . .

. . . If we look closely into the method of working of the new Government, we find that in all matters, even to the least important, the daimios are first consulted, and the decision of the Mikado given afterwards. That this is the very ideal of national and impartial government requires no words of mine to demonstrate. The promoters of this administration (revolution?) were undoubtedly Satsuma, Chōshiu, and

[1] Mr J. C. Hall, who became Acting Japanese Secretary in 1884, Acting Judge at Yokohama in 1888, and is now Consul at Hakodaté.

[2] An allusion perhaps to the Civil war that raged under the Emperor Go Daigo in the two *genkō* periods, A.D. 1321-1335.

[3] The 'people' means the samurai collectively.

Tosa. . . . Even if the daimios of the western provinces were on this occasion to fail in bringing about a return to the old order of things, the eastern, southern, and northern provinces would rise and accomplish it. If it is asked from what cause this state of affairs arose, I reply simply from the Shogunate being in the dark, while the people were enlightened as to the question of allegiance. Hence, even if the Shogunate could make its power felt (to check the movement) two or three times, still it is certain that in two or three years a return to the ancient system would inevitably take place. 1869 ÆT. 41

Such, then, being the true state of the case, it is obvious, whether we view it in the light of the past, or in that of the events and tendencies of the present, that if we do not espouse the cause of allegiance to the Mikado we shall subject ourselves to vicissitudes both from within and from without. That is to say, it rests with ourselves whether we shall voluntarily adopt this course, or have it forced upon us both by the populace of our own provinces and by the forces of the province which adhere to the Mikado.

Again, it is argued that 'if we wish to make our provinces flourishing and our forces strong, we must abstain from meddling with Imperial questions.' This is the very reverse of the truth. Men like Satsuma, Chōshiu, and Tosa have laboured heart and soul in behalf of the Empire, and the immense expenditure they have thereby ungrudgingly incurred is a matter of notoriety. Yet the provinces of these three daimios are increasing in prosperity every day, their forces growing more powerful; while, on the contrary, the majority of the daimios on the other side are in straitened circumstances. Whence arises the difference? Simply from the fact that in these three provinces, lord and retainer, seeing eye to eye, have made loyalty to the Mikado the basis of their policy, and have thence been able to devote their united

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energies to the development of their financial and other resources. From one cause or another, it is a positive fact that unless loyalty to the Mikado be accepted as a fundamental principle, lord and retainer cannot agree together.

Be it observed, that to revere the Sovereign who is entitled to our reverence, this is the only true loyalty.

The foregoing principle was early recognized by the Princes of Mito.[1] They communicated it to the Shogunate, but their advice was not attended to. On the contrary, they were punished for having given it.

. . . We frequently hear it said, 'That western countries are not stupid like the ancient Moko;[2] on the contrary their ability distances all comparison with the Japanese. To recognize this you have only to look at their splendid skill in the manufacture of great guns and men-of-war, and the ingenuity and perfection of their machinery.'

I reply: 'That the national characteristic of the western barbarians is, progress in the pursuit of gain; that of the Japanese, a regard for right before everything else, a distinction known to every child in the nursery. As every country excels in some arts and is deficient in others, it is inevitable that there should be mutual advantages and disadvantages. They have the art of making large guns and men-of-war; we, the art of making first-rate swords and spears. Why should we suppose that they are in any degree superior to us?'

Again it is said: 'There are people who talk of putting down Buddhism; but since that system was introduced in the thirteenth year of the Emperor Kimmei, its doctrines have been handed down from generation to generation uninterruptedly for about 1300 years, and it will not be easy to put it down in a day.'

I reply: 'From antiquity to the present day there have been from time to time men who advocated the suppression of Buddhism; but as they merely

[1] See note on p. 47. [2] Mongols.

talked of it and never attempted to put the measure into execution, it eventually fell through. Now for putting down error there is nothing, on the whole, like disseminating the truth. By "the truth" I mean the great system of the sages [Confucianism]. Hence the Emperor will presently found a university and appoint professors to give instructions in the courses of humanity, morality, etiquette, wisdom, obedience, humility, fidelity, and sincerity. When this is done, the people all throughout the country will abandon error, and embrace the truth, and Buddhism will die out of itself. Unless the true system be widely taught and propagated, not only Buddhism, but also the two great evil sects of Catholicism and Protestantism will become difficult to suppress.' 1869 ÆT. 41

. . . That men of pre-eminent merit should occupy the position of superiors, and issue rules to the inferior people, and that the inferior people should yield obedience to these rules, is at once in strict accordance with natural principles, and productive of order; on the other hand, that men of the highest abilities and versed in the conduct of affairs should not occupy the position of superiors, while men who are utterly unequal to its duties do, is at once in contravention of natural principles, and productive of confusion. Now, the small band of men at present in office, who have been chosen from Satsuma, Chōshiu, and elsewhere, are the ablest men of this age, who, by reason of the assistance they can render to the Emperor, and their intimate knowledge of the affairs of the people, are really of the calibre required for official posts in the Government of the country.

I cannot refrain from adding an extract or two from another instructive pamphlet of the time, entitled 'Han-Ron' ('The Clans': A Discussion), likewise translated by Mr Hall. Sir Harry encouraged his officers to take up special subjects and work them out, a plan to which the Blue-Books owe very much of their interest, and the

1869 ÆT. 41 *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*—the earlier volumes at least — most of their value. A favourite custom, too, was to start discussions on the many novel subjects the dramatic course of Japanese events furnished, in which Sir Harry would act as general adversary, and in this way not only was the interest of the younger members of the Legation in their work greatly increased, but important accessions were also made to what may be termed the Legation stock of knowledge on Japanese matters. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of this method as an aid in the conduct of British diplomacy in Japan. The following is from the 'Han-Ron':—

> The great majority of the feudal lords are generally persons who have been born and nurtured in the seclusion of the women's apartments; who have been cherished as tenderly as if they were delicate ornaments of jewels or pearls; who, even when they have grown up to man's estate, still exhibit all the traits of childhood; having never mastered the details of business, they feel no sense of responsibility in approaching affairs of State. Leading a life of leisure they succeed to the inheritance of their ancestors. With their bodies clad in gorgeous apparel, they feel not the winter's blast, and know not that men pine of starvation and cold. With the beauty of their wives and concubines arrayed before them, and the sounds of music and revelry ringing in their ears, they leave no desire of the heart ungratified. Even now that the symptoms of their decline have unmistakably set in, they are intent only on the pleasures that yet remain to be exhausted. As wisely might they pray to the gods for perpetual youth, or seek from the fairies the boon of immortality. And in the same category are those who, though designated vassals, are born of good family on the great estates. Not only are the lords, but vassals also such as are here described. Hence the offices are constantly filled by unqualified men, and corruption is so rife as to defy all attempts to suppress

it. How, pray, while things remain in this condition, can any scheme for promoting the prosperity or power of the nation be concerted or carried out? 1869 ÆT. 41

Generally speaking, the practice of selecting gifted men by popular suffrage prevails widely in all the enlightened countries of the West, but there, being an institution of long standing, it is familiar even to children. Yet our own clans have not yet heard of the existence of this custom. Hence, although it is an eminently ingenious device, there are always sure to be dolts within a clan; although it is an essentially enlightened custom, a clan is never altogether wanting in clod-hoppers, and for an intelligent man to explain the device to blockheads, or for an enlightened Chief to work out the custom with senseless retainers, is just about as much use as asking a blind man whether he preferred a subdued tint or a bright one, or consulting a deaf man as to whether a note should be sharp or flat. Thus it is that the common mass generally never thoroughly comprehend the matter; and when at times they do receive orders to hold an election, either they vote according to their own personal likings or grudges, without either looking for qualifications or objecting to the want of them; or they choose from among their immediate acquaintances, according to the strength of their intimacy, neither singling out the men of talent nor sifting out the incapables.

Many other very interesting and instructive documents are to be found in the Blue-Books. Among them Mr Aston's translations of debates in the Japanese so-called Parliament are especially noteworthy, concerned as they are not merely with constitutional questions, but also with such national customs as *harakiri* and the wearing of two swords, which together might be said to constitute the *differentia* of Old Japan relatively to the rest of the world.

It need scarcely be pointed out that the history of the above-quoted pamphlets was as untrustworthy as their logic was futile. What the position of the Mikado really

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was has already been stated. But the one tenet of the Shintō faith, reverence for the Mikado, embedded in a matrix of Confucianism, formed the only political philosophy the leaders of the so-called Restoration had any knowledge of. It will be seen that events soon taught them its insufficiency. Almost from the outset, indeed, a strong party in the new Government showed by their acts that, within certain limits, they fairly understood the political principles that underlie western systems of law and order. As illustrative of their ready apprehension of novel ideas, an extract may be given from a sort of Handbook of Civic Duty, published by the Government under the title of 'Imperial Precepts,' and widely circulated throughout the Empire. The whole of this curious document was translated by Mr Mitford, and will be found appended to Sir Harry Parkes' despatch of the 25th June 1869:—

> Now, the spirit of the present differs from the spirit of the past. The countries of the world have joined themselves in a relationship of peace and friendship. Steamers are sent round the world heedless of stormy waves or of foul winds. The communication between lands distant ten thousand miles from one another is as that between neighbours. Country competes with country in producing rifles and guns and machinery, and each revolves plans for its own advantage and profit. Each vies with the other in devising schemes to obtain the mastery; each exerts itself to keep up the strength of its armies; each and every one strives to invent warlike contrivances. But in spite of all this there is a great principle existing all over the world, which prevents civilized countries from being lightly and lawlessly attacked. This principle is called International Law. How much the more, then, would our divine country, the institutions of which excel those of all other countries, be turning her back upon the sacred precepts established by the heavenly ancestors of the Emperor, should she be guilty of violent and lawless

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acts! Such a thing would be the greatest shame and disgrace to the country of the gods. Hence it is that the Emperor has extended a faithful alliance to those foreigners who come here lawfully and rightly, and they are allowed free and uninterrupted access to this country. Following this example set by the Emperor, his subjects, when they receive no insult from the foreigner, should observe the same principle, and refrain from blows and fighting. If by any chance we should be put to shame before the foreigner, it is hard to say what consequences may ensue.

In the following document, also translated by Mr Mitford, the principles set out in the foregoing extract are developed in a manner that strikingly illustrates the truth of the contention (which was also Sir Harry Parkes') that there never was any intelligent opposition to foreign intercourse on the part of the Japanese. What opposition was offered by such men as Iwakura and Sanjō, and by other statesmen of like calibre, was due to an ignorance on their part, unavoidable at the time, of the western world and its ways. The outbursts of fanaticism were rarely if ever connected with any influential personage—excepting always Nariaki, the old Prince of Mito.[1] The Government, it must be remembered, that issued these manifestoes was largely composed of the very men who, before they came into contact with foreigners, were the most determined advocates of expulsion. It was the far-sighted and courageous policy of the British Minister in 1865 and 1868, based upon the accurate information he obtained through such men as Satow, Aston, and Mitford, that convinced the nearest advisers of the Mikado of their mistake, and not only paved the way for the restoration of Japan to the great family of nations, but made the unification of the Empire possible.

[1] Yet even he was said to have been originally favourable to foreign intercourse, and to have sent a letter to America inviting a visit to Japan, which was brought back by Commodore Perry (see Mr Clement's account, cited above, p. 17 note).

1869 Æt. 41 *Seventeen Subjects of Inquiry as to the means of washing away the Shame of our Country in regard to Foreign Relations.*

1. From ancient times till the present day the question of opening or closing the country has been a frequent theme of debate. Are the barbarians birds or beasts with whom we ought not to associate? or, seeing that our country is not really rich and strong, should we take of their surplus to supply our deficiencies and then sweep them away? or, shall we change our teaching altogether to the western fashion, opening schools for the acquisition of western accomplishments, and mastering the arts of gunnery and of shipbuilding, and, when we have done this, drive them utterly from the country? or, shall we cut the barbarians down? All sorts of schemes of this nature have been debated down to the present day. If Japan is to be opened, shall we keep up our foreign relations as they at present exist, or shall we place them upon a new and different footing?

2. If it be determined that Japan should be closed, ought the foreigners to be expelled with decision, or shall we cut down and slay the foreigners who are living here? and when they come to fight us (in revenge for this), what will be the proper way for us to meet them?

3. If when the foreigners come with their armies to invade us and we have no soldiers ready to oppose them, our people and the Emperor's house fall together to rise no more, what then?

4. If, when the time comes for us to struggle with the foreigners, there should be persons to raise the extraordinary argument that we ought not to pit our soldiers and our strength against them, how shall we be able to hold such language?

5. If it be decided to close the ports, when the time comes for us to fight, in what province shall we place

our illustrious Imperial house in safety; and how shall we protect it? What will be the result of our precautions? 1869 ÆT. 41

6. If at the present time there are men who violently murder innocent foreigners, or who coin base money, or who borrow excessive sums of money, yearly and monthly piling up iniquity upon iniquity; when the foreigners shall have taken counsel together, and set their forces in motion to attack our Government, and demand reparation, they will appropriate the open ports, stop our shipping upon the seas, and take possession of our islands; and then how shall we ward them off: what device shall we invent to suppress them?

7. It appears that at the present moment the party in favour of opening the ports are the advocates of western civilization, while the party in favour of closing the ports advocate the Japanese and Chinese civilization. If one or the other policy is to be adopted once for all, which of these two will it be fitting that we should determine and fix upon?

8. At a juncture like the present how will it answer in the end to make our Shintō religion the religion practised in truth and in fact by the whole people of Japan?

9. When the policy to be pursued is adopted, will that of opening or that of closing the country be best adapted to the spirit of the times, and on which side will the advantage or disadvantage, the gain or loss, show themselves in the end?

10. The object of the Treaties between Japan and other countries was to promote friendship and commerce between our people and foreigners. For the last few years foreign countries have vied with one another in sending their fleets and soldiers to reside in Japan for the protection of their people: should any trouble arise they will send out their troops in a moment to protect the different places at which they reside. At

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the present moment there are some 3000 British troops here. The next in number to these are the French. . . . As yet our illustrious and divine country has not been brought into contempt before the foreigners. . . . The present danger is lest we should call on ourselves that contempt. . . .

11. During the last few years several tens of foreign merchants have been murdered, and for every man so murdered the foreign Governments have increased their forces, until they have reached their present large numbers. As these murders increase they will in the same proportion add to their troops and fortify themselves more and more. What measures shall we adopt to put a stop to this?

12. If as the years and months roll on foreigners continue to be murdered, and in this way foreign forces are augmented until all the ports are filled by them, this will be the greatest pollution and disgrace that could befall our divine country. As it is we bear an evil name before the nations of the world. Animated by the patriotic spirit of samurais of Japan, how shall we wipe out the blot of these misdeeds in sight of the world?

13. The presence of these foreign troops points to the impotence of our Government to preserve peace and to protect native and foreigner. It is proclaimed that, until the power of life and death, of giving and of taking away, belongs to the Government, the troops cannot be sent back to their respective countries. This power of life and death, of giving and of taking away, is the prerogative of the Government. The preservation of peace and the protection of native and foreigner is the very essence of that which is right and proper. The principle of mutual relief and assistance is that upon which Treaties of amity should be observed. At the present moment we have come to such a point that we are tutored by foreign countries as to our own internal policy. What good scheme shall we adopt to blot out this shame?

14. In the days of the Shogun's Government the power of life and of death, the power of dismissal from, and nomination to, office, was in the hands of low persons. This caused the restoration of the Government to the Emperor. How shall we guide our chariot clear of the rut in which that which preceded us was overturned? 1869 ÆT. 41

15. The Representatives of Foreign Powers when they go through the streets or in the country are preceded and followed by soldiers; what means shall we adopt to put an end to this irregularity? or shall we take no steps to put a stop to it?

16. It has happened that when the officers or soldiers of the cities, clans and district towns, fall in with foreigners on the high road, disturbances have occurred; what means shall be adopted to punish such offences? or, indeed, has the Government the power to punish them? When foreigners ask these questions how can we give them a true and faithful answer?

17. If it be desired to decide clearly between peace and war, an earnest and determined effort is necessary in either case. If our energies are relaxed for one single step, we shall suddenly be precipitated into the misfortunes consequent upon our want of decision, and the power of the Government will fall into the hands of unprincipled persons. Therefore, is it not desirable that the question of peace or war should be decided once for all?

The above questions are of all importance at the present moment. They must be treated with honesty and sincerity, and we earnestly beg you to settle these subjects, conducting your deliberations in accordance with the spirit of the times.

Despite its length, no apology is required for inserting the above document, which marks the official end of anti-foreign fanaticism. In a later despatch (9th August) the British Minister was able to announce to Lord Clarendon the disappearance of the last trace of hostility:—

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I lately took an opportunity of pointing out to the Prime Minister that I had noticed that the members made occasional use in their debates of the offensive word 'barbarian' in allusion to foreigners, and I requested that this discourtesy might be discountenanced by the Government. The Prime Minister assured me without hesitation that he had not noticed this practice until I had mentioned it, and that he would take prompt measures to ensure its discontinuance.

When the daimios gave back their fiefs to the Mikado—to use the language of Restoration historians—they made no great sacrifice. In the first place the movement was not theirs, scarcely even did it originate with their *karō* or hereditary councillors, it proceeded mainly from the understrappers who did the real work of the clan, especially the *yōnin* or business-agent class. Next, the cession was in great part if not wholly intended as a means of escape from the supremacy or overlordship of the Shogun. In an admirable essay on Modern Japanese Legal Institutions[1] Mr Masujima puts the case forcibly enough. 'The authors' (of the Revolution), he writes, 'had each one end in view. Belonging to certain predominant feudal clans, each set out with the object of overthrowing the Shogun and placing his own clan in power. But then these identical intentions of course clashed with one another. None of the clans was strong enough to make itself supreme over the others and take the place of the Tokugawa government.' Hence some sort of federation, an oligarchy of clans, was—and still remains—the outcome of the Revolution. But the only model upon which a new Government could be formed was the only real Government that had ever existed in Japan—the Government of the Bakufu. The Mikado in effect absorbed the Tokugawa overlordship, and the great clique of the chief clans thus entered into direct relations with the governing cliques of the remaining clans. No one dreamed of any share in the

[1] *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xviii.

Government being given to any one who was not a samurai, and up to a very recent period, if not to this day, only a few of the lowest offices have been allotted to men not of samurai rank. The whole Empire became a sort of magnified Kwanto or Tokugawa domain, the former non-feudatory daimios or *chihanji* (provincial governors), as they were now termed, standing in a similar relation to the Central Government to that occupied by the *fudai* or feudatory barons towards the Shogun. 1869 ÆT. 41

The British Minister took care not to meddle with the course of events, but was a keen and watchful observer of what was taking place. His aid and counsel were constantly sought, especially by the more liberal section of the Government, and privately as well as officially he gave them all the support in his power. With such tact and prudence were these services rendered that, although the country was convulsed with faction, no umbrage was caused in any quarter. The extent of his assistance will never, probably, be fully known, but it may safely be said that to Sir Harry Parkes, far more than to any other foreigner, Japan owed her successful passage across the difficult days of the revolutionary period. In the transition from Old to New Japan—a political change unexampled in Eastern history—England, through her representative, played the part of a sagacious and disinterested adviser.

The *jōi* or anti-foreign sentiment, though officially dead, was yet far from extinct:—it is not so even in 1893, though it has assumed a different form. But, as had been the practice in the earlier years of foreign intercourse, it was rather made use of, as Mr Masujima admits in his essay already cited, by contending factions than adopted by any important political party as an element of foreign policy. In April, 1869, it was arranged that the Emperor should again quit Kioto to return to the Eastern Capital. His train was already on the way when a crowd of *shimpei* or body-guards—an ill-disciplined, heterogeneous body of samurai taken from various

1869 ÆT. 41 clans—attempted to persuade him (that is to overawe his advisers into persuading him) to remain, and, when unsuccessful in their endeavours, insisted upon accompanying him to Yedo. The result was a recrudescence of anti-foreign fanaticism expressed in different forms of outrage committed upon foreigners, and somewhat later on in the assassination of Omura Masujirō,[1] a Vice-Minister of the War Department, on the sole pretext that he had 'conformed himself to foreign customs.' Sir Harry, supported by his colleagues, made strong representations on the subject to the Japanese Government, and finally declared that no business could be transacted with the authorities until some decided action was taken. His firmness, which to the more enlightened members of the Government was by no means unpleasing, brought about, as it always had done, the desired result, and a notification was issued warning all persons, and *kuge's* and daimios in particular, to refrain from committing certain specified offensive acts against foreigners. These ceased at once and were never renewed.

Against the perils which threatened them from their own partisans the Government were now anxious to enlist the support of the Tokugawa party, and in November Keiki and Aizu were pardoned and an amnesty extended to all their followers. So greatly had the feeling against foreigners subsided by this time that it was thought safe for the Empress to visit Tokio. Some disturbance was feared, but the Empress made her entry without any demonstration of the peculiar form of patriotism then known as *yamato-damashii*—soul of Old Japan—marring the pageant.

A singular instance of what in Europe would be regarded as gross religious apathy was afforded towards the close of the year by the abolition of Buddhism in Satsuma, which was accepted, without a murmur, even by the Buddhist priests themselves. The purification of Shintō by eliminating Buddhist elements, which for

[1] 8th October 1869.

some years formed a prominent feature of the new policy, met with as little opposition. The explanation is not far to seek. Shintō, as has been shown, has practically no creed beyond the simple doctrine that the Mikado is the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, and to such a faith and its correlative duty of reverence and obedience Buddhism is not opposed. In Old Japan every Japanese was born a Shintōist and buried a Buddhist; passing the interval between birth and death as a follower of both faiths, or as a Confucianist, that is as a follower of neither, but nevertheless not altogether as a pure agnostic. 1869 ÆT. 41

The diplomatic history of the remainder of the year (1869), inclusive of the visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, may best be given in Sir Harry's own words, taken in part from his despatches, in part from his letters to his wife. It has already been explained what the difficulties attendant upon the Duke's visit were, and what the apprehensions to which they gave rise. The tact of the British Minister in dealing with many perilous questions of etiquette, and the resourcefulness of the Japanese Government in unearthing precedents, are equally worthy of admiration. The visit was a complete success, and the achievement was one which only those who knew Japan in the sixties, and remember the obstinacy of China in like matters then and long after, can properly appreciate.

To the Earl of Clarendon Yedo Aug. 23

With reference to my despatch of the 26th ultimo, reporting that His Majesty the Mikado had communicated to me his wish to receive His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh on the occasion of his visit to Japan, I may now add that His Majesty's Government continue to take a deep interest in this subject, and appear disposed to spare no pains to render the Prince's stay at the capital agreeable to him. Two High Commissioners have been appointed to proceed to Yokohama as soon as the Prince's arrival is reported, in order to invite His Royal Highness to Yedo in the name of the Mikado. The seaside palace has been

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handsomely fitted up for his reception, and furniture and all the necessary appointments have been procured at considerable expense from Hongkong.

At the reception by the Mikado it has been arranged that, after the formal part of the ceremony is concluded, His Majesty shall invite the Prince to a second meeting in one of the summer pavilions, when the Mikado will sit and converse with His Royal Highness with less reserve.

A series of national entertainments will be provided; and the Princes of the Blood and the principal nobles will pay their respects to His Royal Highness.

In a conversation which I had yesterday with the ex-Prime Minister Iwakura, he observed that the reception of the Prince had caused the Government much anxious consideration; for when the subject was first mooted, opinion was by no means uniform as to the course to be pursued. An intelligent majority of the advisers of the Mikado had, however, seen that the occasion was one which should be profited by to mark their friendly feeling towards Foreign Powers, and their readiness to promote more intimate relations with them, although at a sacrifice of old ideas and usages. In order, therefore, to receive the Prince in a manner that would be acceptable to England, the Mikado would have to adopt a new etiquette; but it afforded them gratification to feel that these compliments would be paid in the first instance to an English Prince, and would form, therefore, some acknowledgment of the various proofs they had received of the good-will of England and Her Majesty's Government.

Programme of the Preparations for the Reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh.

1. Previous to His Royal Highness' arrival in Japan, prayers will be offered up to Kan-jin for his prosperous voyage.

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Note—Kan-jin, literally the God of China. This is the revival of an extremely ancient ceremonial which dates from a time when there was no intercourse with abroad, excepting with China through Korea. Kan-jin is, therefore, the patron saint of foreigners, who are all united under his protection with the generic name of Tōjin, or 'men of the Tang Dynasty of China.' . . .

3. On His Royal Highness landing at Yokohama, a salute of twenty-one guns will be fired. A guard of honour will present arms.

4. On the day before His Royal Highness' departure for his residence at Yedo, the roads will be cleaned and repaired; and prayers for his safe journey will be offered up to the god of roads.

5. On the day on which His Royal Highness may be expected to arrive in Yedo, religious ceremonies will take place at Shinagawa, to exorcise all evil spirits. On His Royal Highness' arrival, a Prince of the Blood will visit him, to inquire after his health.

6. The Royal Standards of England and Japan will be unfurled, side by side, at the Prince's residence. . . .

8. When His Royal Highness is about to enter the gate of the castle, the ceremony called 'Nusa' will take place.

Note.—'Nusa' is the sweeping away of evil influences with a sort of flapper with a hempen tassel.

9. At the third gate, or gate immediately before the porch of the palace, His Royal Highness will alight from his carriage, a cry will be uttered by the heralds, to call attention and enjoin silence. . . .

Memorandum by Mr Mitford.

On the 4th September His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh had an audience of the Mikado, accompanied by Admiral the Hon. Sir H. Keppel, Sir Harry Parkes, the Duke's equerries, and naval and diplomatic officers.

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Ohara, one of the Commissioners appointed to receive the Duke of Edinburgh, was ordered by the Mikado to escort His Royal Highness to the castle. . . .

On arriving at the castle His Royal Highness' carriage was driven through the third or innermost gate. . . .

On alighting from his carriage, His Royal Highness was received by Daté Chiunagon, the Senior Commissioner appointed to conduct his entertainment; Sawa, the Minister for Foreign Affairs; and Tokudaiji Dainagon, who conducted him to a waiting-room.

Here the Prime Minister, the ex-Prime Minister, and Hiyōbukiyō no Miya, a Prince of the Blood, paid their respects to His Royal Highness.

After a short interval His Royal Highness was conducted by Daté Chiunagon to the Audience Chamber, where the Mikado stood on a raised dais, with two of his personal attendants and the Prime Minister. Hiyōbukiyō no Miya, together with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and several other grandees of the Court, stood at the foot of the dais, at about six or eight feet from His Majesty.

His Royal Highness, accompanied by his Interpreter, Mr Mitford, took his place upon the dais opposite to the Mikado; Her Majesty's Minister, with Admiral Sir Henry Keppel and the other officers accompanying His Royal Highness, stood at the foot of the dais, opposite to the dignitaries of the Japanese Court.

His Majesty, having spoken a few words of welcome, to which His Royal Highness returned a suitable reply, invited the Duke of Edinburgh to meet him again in a more private manner in the garden.

The Duke then retired to the waiting-room.

After another short delay, during which the grandees of the Court waited upon His Royal Highness to congratulate him upon his arrival at the capital, and upon his reception by their Sovereign, Daté Chiunagon con-

ducted the Duke to the maple tea-house in the castle gardens, where refreshments were served. 1869 ÆT. 41

As soon as the Mikado was reported to have arrived at the Waterfall Pavilion, His Royal Highness proceeded there, accompanied to the entrance of the pavilion by all the officers of his suite. Sir Harry Parkes, Sir Henry Keppel, and Mr Mitford entered the pavilion with His Royal Highness. At the verandah His Royal Highness was met by the Prime Minister, who ushered him into the presence. As His Royal Highness entered the room the Mikado, who was attended by five or six of his nobles only, besides the Prime Minister, rose and bowed courteously, begging His Royal Highness to be seated. Sweetmeats were laid before the Mikado and before the Duke of Edinburgh. The suites on both sides remained standing.

The Mikado then said that it gave him the greatest pleasure to receive a Prince who had come from so distant a country, and begged that His Royal Highness would remain sufficiently long to repay himself for the fatigues of the journey.

The Duke of Edinburgh expressed the high satisfaction which he felt at the cordial reception with which he had been met, and the pleasure which the intelligence of this visit would cause to Her Majesty the Queen.

The Mikado assured His Royal Highness that it was a source of happiness to him to think that this auspicious visit would have the best effect in cementing the friendly relations existing between the two countries. He felt that there would of necessity be many shortcomings in His Royal Highness' reception, but begged that the Duke would freely express any wish that might occur to him, in order that, if possible, he might have the pleasure of gratifying it.

His Royal Highness said, that so far from being dissatisfied with his reception, it had exceeded his expectations. It had long been his desire to visit a country of which he had heard so much, and in

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the realization of this wish he had certainly not been disappointed. It was an additional pleasure to him to have this opportunity of congratulating the Mikado upon the personal resumption of the power which he had inherited from his ancestors. It would be highly gratifying to Her Majesty the Queen to learn that the troubles of last year had been succeeded by the restoration of peace.

The Mikado stated that, during the disturbed period through which the country had passed, his Government had received the greatest assistance from the advice and counsels of Sir Harry Parkes, and he was glad to take so important an occasion of acknowledging this debt of gratitude, in order that the expression of his thanks might be conveyed to Her Majesty the Queen. He begged His Royal Highness to deliver this message to Her Majesty.

The Duke of Edinburgh said that he should have much satisfaction in doing so.

The Mikado having said a few words of welcome to Sir Harry Parkes and to Sir Henry Keppel, the Duke of Edinburgh rose and offered the Mikado a diamond-mounted snuff-box as a remembrance of his visit. The present having been gracefully accepted and acknowledged, the Duke of Edinburgh after a few more complimentary speeches took his leave. . . .

In his letters to Lady Parkes Sir Harry gives some details of the Duke's visit :—

To his Wife Yedo Sept. 4

I am writing just before starting with the Prince to the Mikado. Bad weather has retarded our arrangements for a day, and thrown the interview, unfortunately for me, on to mail morning. You know what that means. We came up on the 1st—drove up in the Mikado's carriages. Every mark of respect was shown the Prince on the road by both functionaries and people—guards, etc., at different points. . . . I find the Prince and all his party very pleasant and the visit so far seems to be going off well. The service at the palace

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or residence (on the part of the Mikado's officers) is very well conducted and the party seems very comfortably put up. They are to be amused with a variety of entertainments after the interview with the Mikado. You will imagine my relief if that passes off well. There is to be both a formal and private audience, and I believe the poor young Mikado suffers much from severe shyness and his Ministers fear the Prince will find him very uninteresting. The Prince himself is rather shy.

To his Wife
Yedo
Sept. 17

H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh and the Admiral and Lady Keppel left yesterday. . . . I took leave of H.R.H. on board the *Galatea* at 3 P.M. yesterday, an hour afterwards all the ships were under weigh, and at 5 P.M. I also got under weigh for Yedo riding the chestnut and arriving at 9 P.M. . . .

You tell me of your visit to the Herschels and of having met Wade, who had led you to conclude that he had received the appointment to Peking. It may be so, and if so, I am willing to accept it as wisely arranged and for our good. How delightful it is to receive such an announcement, so wisely and considerately conveyed from a wife! If you don't care for the advancement, I shall not, and whoever may have charge of our interests in China during the next few years will have a troublesome task. If it falls to my lot in the end to have the direction of them I shall probably be better able for the charge at a later date than an earlier one, and the alternative of a couple of years with you in Japan and another couple of years with you and children at home is a very comfortable prospect. I should not complain of the arrangement.

Three ships came up on the 8th to escort the Prince down—*Galatea*, *Ocean*, and *Pearl*. A Prince of the Blood came off with us and other dignitaries. He was very well received on board the *Galatea* and landed again after luncheon under salutes. On the 10th I gave a dinner to twenty-four celebrities—and

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a ball afterwards. This was very hard work. The ball-room and drawing-room were very prettily decorated, the floor was almost too slippery, and thirty-six ladies attended. . . . The Prince danced the first quadrille with Lady Hornby (in consequence of no Minister's wife being at the moment in the room), I facing him with Mrs Norman. Second quadrille he danced with Madame Outrey, and I with Lady Hornby. He only danced one waltz, and that with Mrs Marshall, to the envy of many other ladies. He was unwell and left the room early. The party kept it up vigorously till two. I would have no sit-down supper, but as much as people could eat on tables *all round* the dining-room. Mrs Norman made me dance our usual galop, and I had a turn with Mrs Berger also. So I think I danced enough. I omitted Lancers with Mrs Walsh. The ladies came out in their best and Mrs —— enabled me to judge of them. . . . Everybody enjoyed themselves, but everybody regretted the absence of one who would have so greatly improved the entertainment by *her* presidency. The Prince of the Blood, H.R.H. Ninnaji no Miya, and old Uwajima[1] and others attended both the dinner and the ball. The 12th being Sunday was quiet, 13th had its concert, 14th a great dinner to the Admiral, of which I can only just enclose you the notices in the papers. . . . Admirals are generally popular, and of course Admiral Keppel is a particular favourite. Besides such an opportunity is a very convenient one for letting off a little spleen against the Government of the day, especially a Government which has checked the use of gunboats.

Sir Harry had scarcely drawn breath after the anxieties incidental to the Duke's visit when he had to receive and in a manner take charge of the Austrian Mission. The drunken attack on him narrated in the following letter to Lady Parkes was, I believe, the last of

[1] Ninnaji no Miya—*Miya*, *i.e.* palace, is the appellation of a prince of the blood—was Minister of War; Uwajima, Minister of Finance.

more than a dozen attempts that had been made on his life during his service in the Far East :— 1869 ÆT. 41

To his Wife Yedo Sept. 28

I am not destined to be very quiet. The Austrian Mission will arrive to-morrow probably and they will be on my hands a good deal during their stay. I have persuaded the Japanese Government however to receive them in our old Legation, and I shall advise their coming up to Yedo at once. When they have come and gone, I think I shall take a trip down the Inland Sea to Hiogo and Nagasaki, for I have not had a day's change since you left. The Hornbys have been staying with me for four days and left yesterday. Visitors at Yedo interfere greatly with one's time, as you have to go out with them in the day and of course they engross all the evenings.

I had an accident the other day. A ruffian cut at me as I was coming home from an interview with the Foreign Minister. Providentially he missed both me and dear old Shah. I was going at a rapid pace which interfered with his aim. He had a companion and the street was thronged at the time. It was just getting dusk. I pulled up and turned upon them and succeeded in capturing one—the other dived into a house and got away for the moment, but having secured one of them, the Government were able to learn who the other man was, and they captured him the same night. They are now on their trial. The ruffian admits having drawn on me, but pleads intoxication in excuse, and says he only intended to frighten me. There would have been little room for a joke if the long sweeping cut which he delivered with his two-handed sword had taken effect, and I shall have to insist upon the wretch being severely punished as an example to others. I wish the day would come when the lower class of the two-sworded men could be disarmed. They are a standing source of danger both to their own people and to foreigners. The subject was introduced in the Parliament the other day, but the

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motion to make the wearing of swords *permissive*,—which was the delicate way in which it was put,—found no favour, and the proposal was scouted by the house. Still it is something to see that public thought is beginning to be directed to the subject.

Lay has also been staying with me for a week. I think he has some idea that he may be placed at the head of a China and Japan association, the formation of which is talked of, and be the advocate of the mercantile interests of this part of the world in Parliament, but I question very much whether such a scheme will be carried out.

To his Wife Yedo Oct. 20

I wrote you last on the 9th, just as I was surrounded with Austrians and had commenced the negotiation of their Treaty. I am glad to say that we advanced very rapidly in our work and signed it on the 18th, ten days after their arrival in Yedo. Baron Petz was very desirous to sign if possible on that day, as it was the anniversary of their departure from Austria, and he can now say that within the year he has accomplished the principal work of his mission, in concluding his Treaties with Siam, China, and Japan. He now proceeds home by South America and has to make Treaties with several of the Republics there, but this is simple work. At Peking it took them nine weeks to get their Treaty—accomplishing nothing more in the end than they have done in Japan. They have obtained nothing new here, nor did they seek for anything new, still the commencement of relations with a new country involves some consideration, and they might easily have lost as much time here as at Peking if their business had not been well managed for them. That it was so is very creditable to the Japanese who, I think, have considerately tried to pay me a compliment by using despatch and making no difficulties. Siebold has been the chief assistant to the Austrians, and has helped them very much. On the 16th they had their audience with the Mikado who sent carriages for them.

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They had only a small escort of their own but they were allowed to take their band which played them through the town. The Foreign Minister gave them a dinner in the evening at Hama Goten and I was invited to meet them. On the 18th Baron Petz gave the dinner after the Treaty was signed, and the Prime Minister, the Imperial Prince (who visited me at Yokohama on the occasion of the ball I gave the Duke), the Foreign Minister, and others were present. I like the Austrian party. The Admiral—Baron Petz—is wonderfully young looking for fifty—no one would take him to be more than forty.

It was a great convenience my getting the old Legation for them, as they had thus abundance of room—indeed I could not have put up such a party. They provided their own mess but were of course a good deal with me. They brought out some very handsome presents. Among others I think I told you of the piano for the Empress, and a life-length statue of the Emperor of Austria for the Mikado.

Dec. 4

I have indeed had a very anxious time this year but to have expatiated upon it could only have added to your solicitude. . . . Affairs are quiet politically and going on well, although many ill-conditioned among foreigners wish it otherwise and try to make out that we shall have more trouble. I don't think we shall. The young Empress has just arrived from Kioto and I hope when you come you will make her acquaintance and assist my work—that is, the work of progress. Ladies' influence is, I daresay, as potent in this Court as in others. Madame Outrey is dying to be presented to the Mikadoess. I hope she will not accomplish this before you arrive, that you may have the first or equal opportunity of being received.

Nagasaki Dec. 31

You see I have been able to give effect to my resolution to visit Nagasaki and Hiogo. . . . I left Yokohama on the 21st in the *Oregonian*, one of the Pacific Mail steamers that run every ten days

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through the Inland Sea. They are fine boats. . . . Mr Aston was my only companion, and I am sorry to say that his health is very indifferent and in May he will have to go home: he has very weak lungs. I shall be sorry to lose him, as he is an accurate man and a good student of the written character as well as of the spoken language. . . . We had an excellent run to Hiogo, arriving there on the morning of the 23rd. Gower met me and I was engaged throughout that day in business with him, etc., and in walking over the new settlement of Kobé, which I had not seen for eighteen months. A town has sprung up since then. On the 24th we sailed again and had a very pleasant passage through the Inland Sea, arriving here on the night of the 25th too late to take Christmas dinner ashore. I have been here since then. Annesley is in charge and he has put me up in the old Consulate, which you will well remember. He and Mrs A. are very kind to me. . . . He is Vice-Consul and is now in charge of this port. . . . I have had to go into half a dozen questions here which Annesley, and Flowers before, have in vain tried to settle with the local authorities, and which I shall have to take back with me to Yedo, as I also find the local authorities rather impracticable, and also without sufficient powers. The place has fallen off since the opening of Hiogo and Osaka. . . . To-morrow I think of asking the captain of H.M.S. *Dwarf* . . . to take me to Amakusa, an island about twenty miles away, which the community are anxious to obtain permission to visit, and thence to the Gotō islands, where there has been some persecution of native Christians. A knowledge of both places would be of some assistance. I shall return in time to meet the *Oregonian* on her way back from Shanghai, and I shall go in her to Hiogo, and then commence my inspection of that place and Osaka.

CHAPTER XXIX

UNIFICATION

1870–1871

THE third year of the new Government, though not uneventful, was on the whole a year of comparative tranquillity. As far as foreign diplomacy was concerned it was remarkable for the negotiations arising out of an apparently causeless persecution of the small remnant of native Christians that still maintained some semblance of the faith in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki. After the great massacre of Shimabara in 1637, from time to time during the seventeenth, and even during the eighteenth century, the laws against Christianity were re-enacted and enforced with such vigour that the faith was well-nigh stamped out. Missionaries nevertheless made their way at intervals into the country. As late as the second decade of the eighteenth century the faith was not unrepresented, and the last of its foreign defenders, Father Giovan Battista Sidotti, of whom the Rev. Mr Wright has given an interesting account,[1] died in a Yedo gaol in 1715. By what means, and under what form, in the face of the unrelenting hostility to Christianity that the Bakufu did not cease to display—the principal cause of which perhaps lay in the increasing Confucianism of the ruling class—any traces of Christian doctrine were preserved is not known. But preserved in some shape

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[1] *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. ix. pt. 2.

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they were, and with the renewal of missionary effort that followed close upon the ratification of the Treaties aroused the slumbering fanaticism, not of the people nor of the Buddhist priesthood, but of the professors of Chinese learning and their pupils in the middle and higher ranks of the samurai. In April 1867 there had appeared a curious pamphlet, of which Sir Harry Parkes, always on the watch for any indication of the tendency of opinion, enclosed a translation in a despatch of June 1869. As in all other attacks upon Christianity, Chinese or Japanese, neither facts nor arguments are given, mere childish abuse and misrepresentation are the only weapons employed :—

'KAU-SHIU ROK[1]'; OR, 'MY SILENT GRIEF': MEMOIR BY A NAVAL OFFICER OF TOSA ON THE PROMULGATION OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN JAPAN.

MOTTO.—'The law of Buddha is as durable as metal, and as unapproachable as boiling water.'—SŌSAN.

5th Month (April), 1867.

The western doctrines of the religion of Jesus have of late been promulgated at the three open ports to an alarming extent. Foreign priests have erected churches and led away our ignorant people from the right path. This practice has been particularly successful at Nagasaki; the peasants of the neighbouring villages of Urakami and Ora are competing with each other to enter into the foreign creed. Common people, as well as the Yeta, are now professing the religion of Jesus to the number of 3000.

If we examine the fundamental principles of the religion of Jesus we are struck by discovering that it is entirely based upon deceit, immorality, and imposition. In some respects its precepts resemble our Buddhistic doctrines. Thus, they contain a doctrine of Retribu-

[1] Probably *Kan-shin roku*, 'A record of my feelings of grief.'

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tion in this world and in a future one, a divine guide to happiness, together with threats of hell and damnation for the wicked. It is a religion, however, which works more on the evil passions of mankind [than their moral feelings]. It seduces the common ignorant crowd with a cunning like that of foxes; and it is, therefore, almost impossible to prevent its progress by laws or punishments.

In January 1870 the Japanese Foreign Office informed the Treaty Representatives that 'during the examination of the native Christians at Urakami in the Nagasaki *ken*, in the course of last year, it was found necessary to hand over a number of them to the keeping of daimios to be employed by them for the usual obligatory services of the peasantry'—a condemnation to serfdom or slavery—on the ground that they (the Christians) were disturbers of the peace. The accusation was, of course, absurd, and no attempt was ever made to substantiate it. In all cases the unhappy Christians were treated with harshness, in many instances, particularly in Kaga, with great cruelty. Sir Harry Parkes, though not directly interested in the matter, at once, in conjunction with the other Representatives of the Treaty Powers, addressed protests, first to the local authorities, and afterwards to the Imperial Government. The defence of the latter was a twofold one; their policy towards Christianity, they declared, first, was much more lenient than that of the Bakufu, and, secondly, the French missionaries were alleged to have adopted a system of active propagandism, backed by promises of French protection. The latter plea was not unfounded in fact, as a letter from Sir Harry to his brother-in-law Mr Lockhart indicates:—

Yedo Jan. 22 1870

The Japanese Government have been persuaded to undertake a railway between Yedo and Kioto—a grand work if properly carried out. They are going to construct the line themselves, with the aid of English engineers. To help them to make a start they borrow a million sterling. . . . We have a serious matter on

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hand here just now in the persecution of native Christians. The population of a whole village near Nagasaki has been removed and distributed because the teaching of Roman Catholic priests had made them rebellious, as the Japanese Government say. As the priests could not be kept away from the people they have removed the people from the priests. I am sorry the latter could not at the present time have contented themselves with their churches and congregations at the ports.

The Japanese feel very differently from the Chinese on the religious point, and their remembrances of the bloody wars of the sixteenth century—which the Christianity of the Papists so much inflamed—are fresh in their memories as yesterday. It is a serious and painful affair.

I expect Fanny [Lady Parkes] to-morrow.

A hint was conveyed to the French Bishop, which moderated or modified the ardour of his subordinates, but the persecution, with intervals of abatement, still continued, and it was not until 1873, after repeated protests from the diplomatic body, that such of the victims of French unwisdom and Japanese jealousy and bigotry as remained alive were allowed to return to their homes.

Meanwhile Japan made considerable progress in the work she has continued to pursue with so much success, of assimilating, or at least adopting, the more material parts of western civilization. Yokohama and Tokio were connected by telegraph, and measures were taken to establish a railway system. The British Minister took the greatest interest in these as in all similar efforts of the Government to whom he gave all the support he could at every step. The railway scheme is mentioned in his letter to Mr Lockhart, and he lost no opportunity of impressing upon the Government the necessity and importance of such an improvement in the means of internal transport. It is probable that the suggestion even came from him, though it is only just to say that a model railway was

shown to the Tokugawa Government, in actual operation on the shores of the Gulf of Yedo, by the American expedition under Commodore Perry. 1870 ÆT. 42

To the Earl of Clarendon Yedo April 21

I have had frequent opportunities of discussing with the Mikado's Government the desirability of introducing railways and telegraphs into Japan. It is essential to the establishment of a vigorous and compact administration under the new constitutional system, and of equal importance to the interests of commerce and the industry of the people that improved means of communication should be provided. Japan, unlike China, does not possess navigable rivers; the rate of travelling averages only twenty miles a-day, and provinces that are separated by 400 or 500 miles are at nearly a month's distance from each other. The two capitals of Yedo and Kioto, though connected by the best line of road in the country, are a fortnight's distance apart, and the difficulty of transporting rice often exposes one part of the country to scarcity and distress, while another district may be wanting an outlet for its produce.

At the close of last year I was informed by the Government that they had resolved to construct a railway between Yedo and Kioto. Their difficulty in making a commencement lay in the want of funds, and this was met by an offer on the part of Mr H. N. Lay, formerly of China, and who was then visiting Japan, to lend the Government £1,000,000 on the security of the projected line of railway and the customs revenues. They accepted this offer, and Mr Lay returned to England to raise the above sum and engage the necessary engineers.

Mr Lay's scheme, though not wholly successful, led to the inauguration of a railway system in Japan, and in 1872 the Mikado opened the Yedo-Yokohama line, the first constructed in his Empire.

About the same time the present very complete and well-ordered lighthouse system was definitely initiated upon Sir Harry Parkes' recommendation—in one of his

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private letters of the previous year he calls it the 'child of his own creation'—and carried out in accordance with a scheme of which he had traced the outlines. Up to his departure in the following year he was constantly consulted by the members of the Government in a private and unofficial character as well as officially—upon the numerous novel questions that pressed upon their attention, as he had been, though to a less extent, by the members of the Gorōjiu in earlier years. It is scarcely going too far to say that very few measures, not being of a purely domestic character, were adopted by either Government without the British Minister's aid and advice being sought in regard to them.

By this time both the Government and the great bulk of the ruling class had quite abandoned the foreign policy of the past, and hailed with a sort of enthusiasm the advent of western civilization. Foreigners were allowed to settle in Yedo itself, and a special district, Tsukiji, was marked off for their occupation. Foreign dress was more and more imitated or adopted; even foreign modes of wearing the hair began to replace the shaven polls and stiff queues of Old Japan. Stranger still, it was found possible to get up a full brass military band among the Satsuma soldiers quartered in Tokio. The music, however, like the art, the philosophy, and the literature of the West, is beyond mere imitation, and for none of these things have the Japanese hitherto shown much real aptitude or intelligent admiration; —in regard to them they seem, like the Chinese, almost to suffer from a racial disability.

The collision between the outgoing U.S.S. *Oneida* and the incoming P. and O. mail steamer *Bombay*, which took place in January, gave the British Minister great anxiety. Lady Parkes was a passenger on board the mail-boat. She was playing chess with a friend at the time of the collision and was scarcely sensible of any shock or disturbance. The captain of the *Bombay* was fully exonerated from blame so far as the collision was concerned, but his certificate was suspended on the doubtful ground that he ought to

have stood longer by the unfortunate man-of-war. The *Oneida* was totally lost, with many lives, and the event gave rise to great bitterness of feeling. The American Minister acted as prosecutor at the inquiry which followed, and displayed an extraordinary amount of violence in his conduct of the case—in the course of which the absurd statement was deliberately made that the English ship had purposely run down the *Oneida* because the latter was an American vessel. A few months afterwards the British Legation itself was the scene of an unpleasant incident that yet had its comic side. A gang of *Kinsatsu* (paper currency) forgers, of whom a Chinese servant of the Legation was one of the chief, were discovered to have been carrying on their nefarious practices for some time under Sir Harry's very nose, within the precincts of his own Legation. It was merely by an act of grace that his detractors in later days did not suggest that the British Minister was the ringleader of the band. 1870 ÆT. 42

Lady Parkes, shortly after her return, in a letter dated March writes, 'I find him [Sir Harry] looking ill and worn, he has had this winter threatenings of what the doctors call gout, and lumbago and latterly diarrhoea ; my nursing and care may make him better.' During the winter they visited the Chihanji (former Daimio) of Kii at Wakayama, near the eastern entrance to the Inland Sea, and were received with every mark of respect and honour, the people prostrating themselves on the roadsides wherever their lord's guests passed with their suite—an attention the visitors would gladly have seen omitted. In a letter to her children dated in December, which contains almost the only record that has been found of any of Sir Harry Parkes' country journeys, Lady Parkes, after describing a visit to the Mint at Osaka, then under the direction of Major Kinder, where she struck the first coins ever minted by machinery in Japan, and a trip to Nara, mentions the arrival of the party comprising Sir Harry, Mr Aston, and some others on the 21st November at Wakayama. The next day—

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We landed [from H.M.S. *Sylvia*, then commanded by Captain, now Admiral, St. John] about nine o'clock, being met and conducted to our place of residence by a number of officials [of the *Han*] and a guard of honour. Nothing could have been more comfortably arranged than the rooms set apart for us ; comfortable bedsteads, washing-stands, arm-chairs, looking-glasses, all having been sent from Osaka, and they had actually built a new bath-room on purpose for us. I passed a delightful morning wandering about the garden, basking in quite a summer sun and climbing the hill which formed a most charming background . . . covered to the top with beautiful trained shrubs and trees. After lunch the Prince [of Kishiu] came to see me, . . . apologized for the Princess being unable to receive me, as she was ill, but said that one of her nearest relations would take her place and receive me that evening at dinner . . . [at which] everything was admirably arranged and we passed a charming evening. The house . . . was more than two miles away but . . . with a comfortable sedan chair and plenty of bearers the journey was easily made. . . . On reaching the Prince's residence we were received by a number of officials who conducted us through long corridors, in which, at different parts, a number of the Prince's retinue, handsomely dressed, were kneeling ready to offer a respectful salutation, . . . until we reached the reception-room where the Prince and the lady, both in full dress, were waiting for us. . . . The lady was the greatest object of interest, and I can assure you it is impossible to imagine anything more pleasing than the manner in which she did the honours of the evening, or more picturesque than her appearance. She was exquisitely dressed in a very rich crimson silk train, the waistband [*obi* or girdle] and upper part of the costume made of plum-coloured satin covered with embroidery, the sleeves lined with white, and folds of white silk relieving the rich satin round the throat and bosom, her

head-dress was a perfect study, her hair being elaborately dressed and ornamented with lovely ferns and flowers made in light-coloured tortoise-shell. Like most Japanese women she was small, very slight, and with rather pretty features, but terribly disfigured by the amount of powder, which added to the peculiar custom of painting the lips with a kind of green and gilt colour made her look ghastly. The lady walked in with papa while the Prince accompanied me. . . . The Prince chatted with me through the able and kind interpretation of Mr A[ston] ; he asked me how old I was. . . . The lady did not eat much, but I noticed she tried to follow my example as much as possible in helping herself to the same dishes. . . . [The next day] we started for a long ride, passing through the town, which was clean and well ordered ; my pony, which had never of course carried a lady before, went splendidly. [At a temple the party found an ample luncheon ready for them, pheasant, wild-duck, cake, champagne, etc. The following day the Japanese lady with her suite returned Lady Parkes' visit and presents after the pretty old Japanese fashion.] We left Wakayama with infinite regret, for our reception had been most flattering, and the place itself was so beautiful we longed to have weeks instead of days to pass there. . . . Quarters had been prepared at a temple. We invited a good many of the officials to dine with us and they all appeared greatly to enjoy English food and were quite ready to take beer and champagne. . . . A capital night's rest prepared us for the pleasures of a day to be passed among the orange groves of Kishiu,[1] and it is impossible to conceive anything more charming than the enjoyment of that day. The sky was cloudless, the view lovely . . . masses of golden fruit hanging in rich profusion all around us, while the hills opposite were adorned with numbers of wax-trees,[2] whose leaves were brilliant crimson ; at the foot of the hills ran a broad river. . . . The

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[1] A province celebrated for its oranges.

[2] *Rhus succedanea. L.*

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officers were anxious we should have some fishing down the river.[1] . . . At the mouth of the river we parted from all our kind Kishiu friends with many hearty expressions of goodwill and protestations of friendship on both sides. . . . Our next halting-place was at Oshiu. Fresh beauties and delights awaited us. . . . I cannot describe how very exquisite the scenery was. . . . We went on passing hill after hill, the sunlight resting on their variously tinted vesture, and as the bright sunlight faded away the moon . . . made the tall mountains around look more impressive. . . . It was like being in fairyland.

It is melancholy to have to add that so changed was the state of the country around Wakayama after the consummation of the Revolution that sixty persons committed suicide in the district in the space of a single year.

In April Sir Harry mentions the arrival of the Flying Squadron, 'a little fleet of tiny frigates,' commanded by Admiral Hornby. The Admiral and his officers were presented to the Mikado at Yedo, and a number of distinguished Japanese afterwards visited the fleet. Lady Parkes gave the midshipmen a picnic, long remembered in every gunroom of the squadron.

In May the wild and picturesque tract of Nikkō was 'opened,' to use a Japanese expression, by Sir Harry, accompanied by Lady Parkes, and the great temples and monuments of the founders of the Tokugawa dynasty were for the first time fully revealed to foreign wonder and admiration. On the same journey the ascent of the still active volcano Asamayama was made, Lady Parkes being (I believe) the first foreign lady who had ever peered into its deep fume-filled crater, as she had been the first to win the summit of Fuji's loftier cone in 1867.

At the end of 1870 the Government was somewhat less secure than at the beginning. The work of destruction had gone far enough to excite a good deal of

[1] In Old Japan fishing, or watching the casting of the nets, was regarded as the most delightful of pastimes.

opposition, the work of reconstruction had not sufficiently advanced to bear it down. Early in the next year there were disturbances among the samurai, too many of whom were reduced to a state approaching beggary and were as yet ashamed to dig—in Mito and Nagato, the extreme east and the extreme west; in Bungo in the south; in Shinshiu in the north. The anti-foreign cry was for the last time raised by the insurgents in Bungo,—consisting chiefly of remnants of the disbanded *Kiheitai* or irregular soldiery, who had terrorized Chōshiu in 1864,—and as on previous occasions it was made the pretext to cover various forms of disaffection. 1871 ÆT. 42

In February 1871 one of the Sangi, Hirozawa Hioské, a prominent figure of the Revolution, was murdered while sleeping on the mats by his wife's side. The assassin has never been discovered. A short time previously two English Government teachers had been savagely assaulted by three samurai close to the Nihon Bridge in Tokio. The Government displayed the greatest activity in the matter and the assailants were soon caught and brought to trial. On this occasion, for the first time in Japanese history, a code of criminal law (which had been newly compiled) was produced, and in accordance with its provisions the culprits were awarded exemplary punishment.

The great Satsuma clan, dissatisfied with its representation in the Daijōkwan, or Council of State, where only one member of the clan, Okubo, had a seat, threatened to secede from Sat-chō-to, as the combination of the three clans Satsuma, Chōshiu, and Tosa (who had made, and in a political sense profited by, the Revolution), was commonly called. The resentment of the clan found further expression after a peculiarly Japanese fashion. A Satsuma samurai, Yokoyama Shōtarō by name, disembowelled himself in front of his lord's mansion in Yedo, leaving behind him a memorial containing the usual charges against the Government of selfishness, irresolution, ineptitude and levity. Of course the real offence was that Satsuma counsel was not sufficiently sought or followed. The

1871 Æt. 43 Government took the hint, which was emphasized by the recall of the Satsuma troops to their province—a proof, among many others, of the nominal character of the political changes so far effected by the Revolution—and in January 1871 Iwakura, a *dainagon* or state councillor, was sent on a kind of embassy to Shimazu Saburō, the Satsuma chief, bearing a letter from the Mikado containing the following significant passages—'The work before Us is truly not easy. . . . Do you, Hisamitsu (Shimazu), become Our right hand and best support . . . and unite in heart and strength with Our assembled servants so as to aid and perfect the great work. Enable Us to carry out the restoration of the Ancient System.'

To this communication Shimazu answered, no less meaningly:—

> The order for a reformed system of the Imperial Court having been sent forth . . . who shall gainsay it? What your servant is anxious about is lest the name only should exist and not the reality. . . . Now it seems to have come to the name only being preserved. . . .

The mission was thus successful, the Satsuma troops were restored to Tokio, which thenceforth was garrisoned by them in conjunction with the troops of Tosa and Chōshiu.

No doubt Okubo and Kido, who in ability and moral courage towered high above all the other statesmen of the Revolution, suggested the negotiations of which the above documents were the outward expression. With their usual political insight, however, they saw the need of a far more complete unification than was involved in the union of the three clans, which was regarded as a means, not as an end. That unification lay in the centralization of the Government through the entire abolition of provincial Home Rule. Whether they desired to preserve the Sat-chō-to supremacy may be doubted; after a fashion, nevertheless, that supremacy has been maintained, in part at all events, up to the present day.

Be that as it may, their policy was entirely successful.

The *han* or clans were abolished and converted into *ken* or prefectures by an act of prerogative. A newspaper, the *Shimbun Zasshi* or *General News*, was started to familiarize the public with the changes, and some show was made of consulting the clans, from whom various memorials were received, several of which will be found summarized in Mr Adams' history. They are all, or nearly all, clearly enough mere varied reproductions of a model furnished from Tokio. What promises were made, what threats used, what intrigues resorted to, in order to bring about what was the first really fundamental change in the polity of Japan, something differing *toto coelo* from a simple restoration to the Mikado of a long dormant authority, we know not, and probably never shall know. It would be unjust, however, to allege that such means were necessary in all cases. The reforms contemplated by such men as Okubo and Kido, far-reaching as was their character, must nevertheless have been regarded with considerable sympathy by a powerful section of the higher samurai, or they could not have been carried out. 1871 ÆT. 43

To the samurai generally, on whom in reality the old order of things weighed much more heavily than upon the peasantry and citizens, the abolition of the *han* was a relief;—to most of the daimios or *chihanji* it offered perhaps an even more welcome liberty of action and escape from a tiresome bondage of ceremonial. But to a large minority, at least, the change must have been in the highest degree unwelcome, as the events of the next half-dozen years were to prove. In any case the reform was a necessary one. The *han* system was an intensified Bakufu Government applied to the whole country, the Mikado becoming a magnified Shogun, and under it the *chihanji* (former daimios) might have attained greater independence and power than they had possessed under the Tokugawa dynasty. 'The *han*,' it was astutely alleged in one of the memorials published in the *Shimbun Zasshi*, quoted by Mr Adams, 'never refuse to obey the orders given by the Imperial Court, but they never carry them out.'

1871 Æt. 43 Of the Tokugawa *tozama* daimiates exactly the same language might always have been held. In the same pamphlet it was stated that notwithstanding the conversion of daimios into *chihanji* the condition of things remained as before. The territory, wealth, offices, military forces, and administration were as purely matters of private *han* right as under the Bakufu, upon an extended scale, indeed, since the former *fudai* were now on a par with the *tozama* daimios.

No assembly of clan representatives, such as had been several times called in the earlier years of the Revolution, was now summoned. The omission is a noteworthy sign of the strength the Government felt itself to possess. The clans were dealt with separately, and as there was no organization or union among them, outside of the three Sat-chō-to clans, the task of individual persuasion or compulsion was much facilitated. In 1871 the depositaries of political power were very few in number—in 1893 the case is probably much the same, so-called 'public opinion' being the opinion of some thousands of functionaries, students aiming at place, and journalists—and changes were, and still are, possible upon a scale and with a speed undreamt of in western countries. In fine, great as the change essentially was, it was, after all, only a repetition of what had taken place in China under the Emperor Shi Hwangti some two thousand years earlier, and entailed no great sacrifices on the part of those who willingly or unwillingly consented to it, whose spendable income was not lessened by it, and to whom, tired of isolation and enforced idleness, it opened new vistas of freedom and activity.

Of the next two years, though years of great interest and moment in the constitutional and social history of Japan, only a brief account can be given, which will be found in the next chapter. During this period Sir Harry Parkes was in England. Some months before the conversion of the *han* into *ken* took place, he had left Japan

to enjoy a holiday at home—which proved to be only partially a holiday—after six years of strenuous and difficult duty as British Minister first to the Shogun and afterwards to the Mikado or Tennō (Heaven-Ruler), as the Emperor is more commonly designated in Japan. In May he was accorded an audience of the Emperor to take leave. The signal honour was conferred upon him of a private interview with the Mikado, a privilege never before, it is believed, offered to any foreign Representative, and one which no Japanese even could have dreamt of two or three years earlier, at which His Majesty expressed his deep gratitude for the assistance the British Minister had always given the Imperial Government since the dawn of the Revolution. 1871 ÆT. 43

Sanjō, the *Udaijin* and Prime Minister,[1] likewise availed himself of the occasion to write a letter to 'His Excellency the Prime Minister of England,' with which the present chapter, concluding the narrative of Sir Harry Parkes' first period of service in Japan, may properly close :—

> My Lord,—Sir Harry Parkes, the British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has held those functions in Japan during a period of years, and is well acquainted with the affairs of our country ; he has earnestly endeavoured to ensure the amicableness of our relations, and has performed the duties of his office in a loyal and upright manner, so that the friendly intercourse between our respective nations has become more and more intimate, which is a matter of rejoicing.
>
> Furthermore our Government has trusted profoundly to him as a support, and have frequently received his aid in different matters with various nations, and it is truly impossible to express our sense of gratitude. He has informed me that he is about to

[1] The 'Prime Minister' in Japan is not the chief of the Cabinet or the head of the Government in anything like the same sense in which he is so in Great Britain.

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return to England, and I have been commanded by His Majesty the Tennō to take the opportunity of telling your Excellency of his merits during his period of office, and I have the honour to request that you will lay these facts before Her Majesty the Queen [Kōtei] of England.—I have, etc.,

SANJŌ, *Udaijin.*

CHAPTER XXX

THE IWAKURA MISSION

1872–1873

DURING his stay in England Sir Harry Parkes was far from idle. His duties, as the foregoing pages have already explained, were not merely those of an ordinary European diplomatist. Our Ministers in the Far East were, by the terms of their commission and in fact, Consuls-General or Superintendants of Trade as well as Ministers. In the latter capacity they had special charge of commercial interests—an heritage from the days of the East India Company's monopoly of trade at Canton, which ceased some years before Sir Harry began his career in China. 1872 ÆT. 44

In 1872 a Committee of the House of Commons was sitting to inquire into the condition of the consular service, and Sir Harry was called as a witness upon the question of diplomatic salaries in such countries as China and Japan. In answer to a question, Sir Harry states :—

> Generally speaking, I consider all grades of the service in Japan underpaid.
>
> *Q.* I want to know whether the salary you receive has ever enabled you to meet the expenses of your position?
>
> *A.* I may say it has, although I have only just made both ends meet. I came away from Japan, after six years' service there, poorer than I went.

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Q. You have not been able to save anything?

A. Nothing; but I am aware that some of the officers under me have not been able to make both ends meet.[1]

Sir Harry's views upon the consular service are set forth at some length in a letter to Mr H. S. Wilkinson,[2] which may still be read with profit:—

To H. S. Wilkinson
April 4

I am inclined to think the year's law reading which you propose for students prior to going out might not be so profitable as appears at first sight. My proposal is that after passing in Japanese, say two or two and a half years after going out, they should be attached for a year to the Assistant-Judge, and in his court and reading to some extent under his direction, I think they would learn more that would be useful to them than in the same time spent at home. They would also run some chance of having whatever they learned of law driven out of their heads by their two years of Japanese, in which time they would have no opportunity whatever to apply or improve their legal lore. Then as to consular duties. I fail to see where they can learn anything about these in England. A year in the shipping office of Yokohama would surely teach them more than they could learn here. Then after their six or seven years in Japan, and when they come home on their first leave, they could then perfect themselves in any special knowledge that courts or chamber practice would afford them opportunity for acquiring. . . .

[1] The above is taken from an able article on the subject published in the *Japan Mail* of 7th January 1873, then and for some years afterwards the property and under the editorship of Mr W. G. Howell, the 'most accomplished journalist'—to use the language of a writer whose politics were entirely opposed to those of the *Mail*—'ever known in the Far East.'

[2] One of his most trusted officers. After serving for many years in various consular offices, and as Law Secretary and Acting Assistant-Judge at Yokohama, he left the service to practise at the Shanghai Bar, where he is now Crown Advocate. Sir Harry consulted him on almost every point of law and procedure that came up for consideration, but the correspondence, which is extensive and proves the most painstaking and erudite research on the part of Mr Wilkinson, is for the most part of too purely technical a character to lend itself to quotation.

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I wish we could do something in the way of a widows' and children's fund. Might we not imitate the Indian service in that respect, it being made compulsory on all officers to contribute say 5 per cent of their incomes, but the management of the fund being in some first-class Insurance Society—*not* the Government? . . .

I shall try very hard to get the students' pay raised. How do you think such a scheme as this would work?

1. Student to go out on £250.

2. In two years go up for examination in Japanese, get £50 increase on passing—chiefly in oral Japanese and easy translation.

3. Join Judge for a year and Consulate for another year. Fair testimonials from both as to a knowledge of forms of procedure and shipping business to qualify for another £50.

4. To pass when he claims it, or on expiration of fourth year, a second examination in Japanese, chiefly in the character. This should be a stiff exam., such as would be necessary to qualify a man as a good and efficient interpreter both in speaking and translating from Japanese to English, and English to Japanese. On passing this to get another £50 and rank as first assistant.

Failure to qualify under 3 or 4 to disqualify for first assistant's rank; opportunity being given the man to go up again at the end of another year.

According to the above plan the hard-working man might make sure of his first assistant's rank and pay of £400, after four years' service. A less industrious man might take five and lose a year's seniority.

By this plan, attainments would secure promotion up to the first assistant's grade, irrespective of vacancies. Beyond that grade promotion (to consuls and vice-consuls) would have to go by vacancies.

A man would thus see his way in a reasonable time to a salary of £400, on which he might live comfort-

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ably. On coming home he should be required to go through such reading and examination in legal subjects as that suggested by Sir E. Hornby. By that time he would be well enough qualified for a vice-consul or Consulate.

Just before Christmas Day (1871) the most important embassy that ever left Japan sailed for Europe by America. Of the objects and history of this mission a sufficient account will be found in the following pages to enable the reader to understand the great influence it exerted upon the later course of Japanese policy, foreign and domestic. Some months before its departure (April 1871) Sir Harry received a private memorandum from Terashima Munenori, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of Treaty revision—apparently the main object of the mission — portions of which are worth giving in translation. It will be seen that demands are made, but no offers :—

Since the Convention of Yedo daimios' retainers have been permitted by law to trade freely. This contravenes the decree forbidding the administrations of Fu (capital cities) *han* and *ken* from contracting debts. This article to be revised. What is contained in the Treaty about opium and the notifications issued to Chinamen on the same subject differ in stringency. A new article might be written to replace this. The titles of foreign Sovereigns have been pretty nearly settled in various discussions, but if it is thought desirable to make further alterations the text of the Treaty should be exact on this point, and the form of writing should be settled. The Taikun *Denka*[1] to be of course changed to Mikado (Tennō) *Heika*.[2]

The Treaties are made entirely for foreigners coming to Japan, and the only stipulation for Japanese going abroad is that a diplomatic agent[3] may reside in the

[1] *I.e.* Highness. [2] *I.e.* Majesty.

[3] When the Treaties were made it was *death* for a Japanese to go abroad unless a diplomatic agent.

capital. In these things the same powers ought to be inherent in both, and after the question has been examined equal and concurrent powers should be the phraseology of the Treaties. 1872 ÆT. 44

Should like to add an article prohibiting foreigners from carrying goods within Japan [coasting trade?]. The tariff of exports and imports might also be revised.

The envoys Iwakura and his four associates, Kido, Okubo, Ito, and Yamaguchi—(here as usually throughout this volume surnames alone are given and ranks omitted, to avoid confusing the reader with strange names and titles)—were expected to arrive at Liverpool from America about the middle of 1872, and in anticipation of their coming Earl Granville, who then held the seals of the Foreign Office, instructed Sir Harry Parkes to place himself at their disposal:—

From E. Hammond May 28

As the Japanese Embassy may shortly be expected to arrive in this country from the United States, I am directed by Earl Granville to request that you will have the goodness to consider what arrangements should be made for their suitable reception. I have already informed you that Lord Granville concurs in your recommendation that General Alexander, late of the Royal Marine forces, should be appointed to communicate with the Embassy, and on behalf of Her Majesty's Government to assist them in making arrangements during their residence in this country. . . .

General Alexander's special duties will be to accompany the Ambassadors if they should desire it, and facilitate their access to all places and establishments which they may desire to visit, and that he may do this more effectually, I shall be always ready, as directed by Earl Granville, to apply in proper quarters for the admission of this Embassy to inspect the public establishments of this country. . . .

Lord Granville desires that Mr Aston should accompany General Alexander to Liverpool, and during his attendance on the Embassy be associated with him as

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assistant. . . . Lord Granville will be glad that during the stay of the Ambassador in this country you should be in frequent communication with him, not only as regards the political mission with which he is entrusted, but also generally with the view of making his visit agreeable and producing an impression which may prove serviceable hereafter to our intercourse with Japan.

The Envoys with their numerous suite went about a good deal in the summer, and were everywhere received with great courtesy and kindness. They visited the great commercial centres, and saw almost everything of interest the country had to show, as the accounts given in the newspapers of the time sufficiently testify. Sir Harry accompanied them on most of their journeys, and was the object of considerable attention on the part of the local authorities. The agreeable impression made on the members of the mission by their reception and by Sir Harry Parkes' exertions in their behalf will be apparent from the letter of thanks addressed to him by the chief Envoy and his associates :—

From the Japanese Envoys Paris Dec. 27

The Ambassadors of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan desire to express to His Excellency Sir Harry Parkes their warmest thanks for his untiring personal attentions to them during their late visit to England. They would also acknowledge, through him, the deep obligations they are under to Her Majesty's Government for the full and generous arrangements that were made for the comfort and interest of the Ambassadors. They would recall especially the very interesting and successful tour of the Kingdom, made in company with His Excellency, as well as the warm reception they met with at every point. They feel that it was by His[1] (*sic*) invaluable assistance that they were enabled

[1] The capital letters are intended as a mark of honour ; in Japanese, as in Chinese, they would be represented by placing the character at the head of a column (it will be remembered that Chinese and Japanese are written perpendicularly) a little raised above the level of the rest of the page.

to gain a knowledge of so large a number of the places of interest in the great country which He (*sic*) so ably represents. 1872 ÆT. 44

With feelings of lasting obligation, and renewed assurances of warm personal attachment and esteem—they have the honour to subscribe themselves—

Iwakura Tomomi[1]
Kido Jiunichirō
Okubo Ichizō
Ito Hirobumi
Yamaguchi [Hisayoshi]

After the departure of the Embassy Lord Granville instructed Sir Harry Parkes to return to his post in a despatch of great importance, which it will be convenient to print here, although, as the foundation of British policy in regard to Treaty revision, its full significance will not be apparent until that great question comes to be dealt with.

From Earl Granville Jan. 13 1873 (extr.)

The special Ambassadors from Japan having now left England, there is no occasion for you any longer to delay returning to your post.

From your own direct intercourse with the Ambassadors during their stay in England, and also from having been present at the interview which I had with their Excellencies, you will have learnt how little they had to offer in explanation of the objects of their mission and the views and wishes of their Government, and how little in the uncertainty in which I was left in these respects I was able to convey to them regarding the policy and intentions of Her Majesty's Government in regard to intercourse with Japan.

The same difficulty prevents me from giving you any but the most general instructions for your guidance on your return. . . . The main principles by which you should regulate your conduct were more or less

[1] Below each name is written the *kaki-han* or seal used on important occasions, but not on legal documents.

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adverted to in my conversations with the Ambassadors. Her Majesty's Government desire to maintain the most friendly relations with Japan, but they are not prepared, out of deference to the wishes of its Government, to expose the maintenance of them to risk by complying with their suggestions that the small British force still maintained in Japan should, at the present time or under the existing state of circumstances, be withdrawn, or by renouncing the security for British life and property which the extra-territorial jurisdiction now enjoyed by Great Britain in Japan is calculated to secure to British subjects. Her Majesty's Government would see with great satisfaction the establishment in Japan of order and justice as the rule of administration permanently accepted and observed, which would enable them with confidence to entrust the interests of British subjects, as in most countries, to the safe keeping of the local Government.

But it would not be for the advantage of Japan, to undertake responsibilities in this respect which it cannot discharge. . . . Although pending the return of the Ambassadors no definite proceedings can be taken for the revision of Treaties with Japan, you will doubtless be able to turn to good account the interval which must necessarily elapse for preparing the minds of the Japanese Government for the changes which may be proposed to them, and for ascertaining the views of your colleagues and of the mercantile community in general on the several points which may come under discussion. . . . When after considering and discussing matters in Japan, you shall submit some definite proposals, I will lose no time in giving you final instructions. In the meanwhile, any attempt to do so would inconveniently hamper you, and I can only say generally that Her Majesty's Government fully rely on your ability to judge what the interests of the British subjects require, what concessions it may be expedient to make, and how far you may be able

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to carry the Representatives of Foreign Powers along with you. And as regards the protection of native Christians, you will of course ascertain what you can effect in their behalf without endangering the stability of the Japanese Government.

His rare intervals of freedom from attendance at the Foreign Office or upon the Japanese Envoys Sir Harry spent with his family in different places. On his arrival in England in 1871 he went, accompanied by Lady Parkes, to Iford, near Lewes, where he had taken her uncle's rectory for a time. Here the long-absent father was welcomed by his children, who came to meet him with banners and flowers in happy excitement. Afterwards they all migrated to the Bridge of Allan, where he found occupation in organizing all kinds of delightful expeditions among the surrounding hills. In Japan he had a passion for hill-climbing, shared by some of his officers, especially by one of them whose secret ambition was less to fathom the depths of Japanese learning than to stand successively on the top of every high hill in Dai Nippon. He made a round of visits about this time, among others to Sir William Stirling Maxwell, to Lord Tollemache, and to Mr Prideaux, the esteemed registrar of the Goldsmiths' Company and an old friend of Sir Harry's. The autumn was spent at Ryde, after which a house was taken in Lancaster Gate, which was shortly to become a scene of mingled grief and joy. Their eldest son was attacked with scarlet fever. Happily he recovered, but in June 1872, when their fourth daughter Lilian was only six weeks old, they had the inexpressible sorrow of losing their eldest, Nellie, from diphtheria, on the 14th. She lies with her parents in the quiet churchyard at Whitchurch. To the mother, with scarcely recovered strength, the shock was a terrible one; she never quite rallied from it; but the shadow that thenceforth hung over her life, if it paled all her joy, deepened her sympathy with all forms of suffering and distress. In July they removed to Chislehurst, where Sir Harry greatly enjoyed the

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society of Mr Archibald, son of the late Mr Justice Archibald, now a master in the Supreme Court.[1] Some time was then spent at the pleasant residence of a friend, Childown Cottage, above Chobham Common, after which winter and the needful preparations for departure called them to town.

In September Sir Harry Parkes attended the Japanese Envoys upon their presentation to the Queen by Earl Granville. The winter was passed in Westbourne Terrace, and in January 1873 he returned to Japan with Lady Parkes and all his children excepting the eldest boy, who was left at home to pursue his education.

On the voyage out he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr Lockhart :—

To W. Lockhart
Deccan
near Aden
Feb. 13
1873

I wrote Catharine from Gibraltar to which place we had a very rough passage. From Gibraltar to Alexandria we had only one uncomfortable day, but at Suez—the heat and discomfort of which place you know well—we were detained for three days waiting for the (Brindisi) mail which left Southampton five days after us, and the London mail of 31st January. . . . We have made a slow passage down the Red Sea, and yesterday was very miserable for ladies and children—the ports having to be closed, and the heat therefore below being intolerable. To-day we are doing better again and have just passed through the Straits of Bab el Mandeb. But we have a bad night before us as we shall not reach Aden till nine or ten and shall then commence at once to coal—ports being closed to prevent coal-dust, so poor Fanny will again pass a bad night. She has indeed had very little rest since leaving England. I trust, however, that we may look for quieter weather between Aden and Singapore. Unfortunately there is no hotel to which I could take her at Aden while we coal, and we shall be off again before daylight. Bad weather tries Minnie and all the children a good deal, but they revive directly the sea goes down,

[1] See his recollections below, p. 359.

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though they droop before the heat, although it is by no means intense. Fanny, I fear, does not travel so well this time as she usually does, and I shall be glad on her account when the voyage is over. Bombay may afford her a rest. We shall be there on the 20th, I believe, but I shall then have only accomplished half of our journey!

Towards the close of April 1873 the British Minister was welcomed back to Japan by the foreign residents of all nationalities, as well as by the Japanese Government. But soon after the return of the Iwakura mission in September a change began to manifest itself in the relations of the Government with the Foreign Representatives in general and with Sir Harry Parkes in particular. What was the nature of the change, and what its cause, the story of that mission will show, and it is important that it should be briefly set forth here, for most of the subsequent diplomatic troubles in Japan can be traced to the influence of Iwakura and his colleagues after 1873, aided and furthered by incompetent foreign advisers.

It will be remembered that when the Gorōjiu in 1865 communicated to the Foreign Representatives the terms of the Imperial consent to the Treaties, they omitted the postscript in which the opening of Hiogo was forbidden (obviously on account of its proximity to Kioto) and a revision of the Treaties was enjoined.[1] Nevertheless the 1st July 1872 was ultimately fixed as the date for the revision mentioned in the original Treaties, and when the Sat-chō-to alliance was again firmly established, the Government was able to turn its attention to the subject. At a much earlier period the more advanced among the leaders of the Revolution had made up their minds to be contented with nothing less than an eventual resumption by Japan of the complete sovereignty, to which they thought they read her absolute right in the international law of the West, which has become a sort of fetish in the extreme East. The special Embassy to Europe and America was

[1] See above, p. 54, note.

1873 Æt. 45 therefore determined upon, which ultimately, as already stated, consisted of Iwakura and the four associate envoys Kido, Okubo, Ito, and Yamaguchi. They were accompanied by a considerable retinue of secretaries and other officials, the whole party being nearly fifty in number. America was first visited, and the letter of credence to the President stated frankly enough the object of the mission :—

> We expect and intend to reform and improve (the Treaties) so as to stand upon a similar footing with the most enlightened nations, and to attain the full development of public right and interest. The civilization and institutions of Japan are so different from those of other countries that we cannot expect to reach the desired end at once. It is our purpose to select, from the various institutions prevailing among enlightened nations, such as are best suited to our present condition, and adopt them, in gradual reforms and amendments of our policy and customs so as to be upon an equality with them (the enlightened nations).

In other words the Embassy was a roving commission of inquiry without powers, and as Lord Granville, in his above-quoted despatch, in effect stated, no useful discussion of policy in Japan was under such conditions possible. As far as revision was concerned, the Embassy achieved no success whatever ; but the fifty members of it, many of whom probably were men of exceptional ability and liberality, obtained a close and prolonged view of western civilization, which bore fruit on their return, and rendered the mission an epoch-making event in the history of modern Japan. Much of the machinery of western civilization, they saw, was susceptible of wholesale and immediate imitation : the secret forces which gave it life and permanence they may well be pardoned for not perceiving so clearly. What was, perhaps, in the long-run, less beneficial, they learned methods and forms of opposition and delay, as well as of administration, how not to do a thing as well as how to do it, which the practice of the

West seemed to justify, and of which the Japanese Government has since made ample use. 1873 ÆT. 45

Upon his return the British Minister found that great changes had taken place in Japan. Mr F. O. Adams, and after him Mr R. G. Watson, had acted as British Chargé d'Affaires during Sir Harry's absence. To the efforts of Mr Adams and his French colleague the Vicomte de Turenne, a direct descendant of the great marshal and a most amiable and popular man, was due the final settlement of the Christian difficulty in 1872. The notice boards at the village entrances condemning the 'evil sect' were removed in the course of the following year,[1] and replaced by others covered with curious diagrams that turned out to be the patterns of a 'social intercourse' costume, as the Americans term evening-dress, which the Government, then under American influence, with the usual Oriental insensibility to ridicule, had adopted as a sort of official uniform. In October of the same year (1872) the first railway in Japan, between Yokohama and Tokio, was opened by the Mikado in person. It has already been stated that the introduction of railways was mainly due to the reiterated counsels of Sir Harry Parkes. The improvement of communications was one of his pet hobbies, and he rarely made a trip up-country without vexing the souls of the local authorities on the subject of native roads, whose amelioration is still one of the crying wants of Japan.

In the following month the abolition of *yoshiwara* was decreed, as an indirect consequence of the proceedings taken against the *Maria Luz*, whose detention at the instance of the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr R. G. Watson, formed the subject of a famous action. It is to be feared, however, that this reform, like many others in Japan, never got beyond paper, for Mr Norman in his recent book, *The*

[1] The grace of this concession, however, was entirely destroyed by a subsequent notice that the anti-Christian edicts had been removed merely 'because the people were fully acquainted with them' (vide *Japanese Mail*, 1875, p. 277, and 1876, p. 643).

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Real Japan, describes a scarcely modified system as still in full vigour. A sort of mania for issuing decrees and regulations now took possession of the Government, who published them by thousands, according to a native journal, on all kinds of subjects, from methods of administration and taxation down to modes of wearing the hair, the use of mats as provocative of mid-day naps, and the fashions of dress. This feverish activity provoked a good deal of discontent. There was great agitation in Satsuma, where a kind of autonomy was long preserved, and risings, which were not put down without considerable loss of life, took place in many of the other provinces upon various pretexts, such as the new system of assessments and boundaries, the abolition of the *han*, the conscription, the introduction of foreign literature and the toleration of Christianity, the demolition of roadside idols and interference with Buddhist and Shintō worship, the slaughtering of cattle, and the felling of sacred trees. The whole class of samurai who, according to a native paper of later date, are 'the flower of the Japanese nation' and 'alone fit to be entrusted with the important posts of Government officials,' was in a state of ferment. Many of them scarcely knew where to turn to increase the pittance allowed them and hungered after place with a hunger that has become intensified with the course of events, and now threatens to convert the whole State into an arena of bureaucratic intrigue and struggle.

The *jinrikisha* came into vogue at this time,[1] a form of vehicle that has spread to India and the Cape and even, it is believed, to South America. Residents in Japan during the early seventies will remember how slowly feminine prejudices against the 'rickshaw' were removed.

The Government, stimulated no doubt by the reports sent home by the Iwakura mission to force on the Europeanization of the country with all possible speed, had completely abandoned their more or less Sinesian attitude of former years, and accepted American influence

[1] See B. H. CHAMBERLAIN'S *Things Japanese*, 2nd. ed., p. 241.

as most likely to forward their views. The era of the foreign adviser had set in, under the counsels of the American Minister Mr De Long, and that era has not yet come to a close. With some exceptions the salaried prompters of Japanese foreign policy were not men of high professional standing or experience. The first of them was an American lawyer of some eminence, Mr Peshine Smith, who did his best to bring his employers into ridicule by going about in a Japanese split jacket and loose trousers with a couple of swords stuck in his girdle, and declaring in public 'that not one foreigner in ten in Japan was murdered who ought to have been murdered.' To deal with a Foreign Office depending on advisers of this kidney was no easy or pleasant task. The course of diplomacy in Bakufu days had not always been smooth; the Sinesian argument of *non possumus*, then so commonly advanced, was, as is now well known but could not then be known through default of Japan herself, more susceptible of justification than it appeared to be; but the *non volumus* of new Japan became too frequently a mere evasion, or a direct breach of international courtesy and good feeling. 1873 Æt. 45

With the exception of a few unimportant despatches on the settlement of the Formosan difficulty in 1874 and on the Japanese Treaty with Korea negotiated a year or two later, no correspondence has been published on Japanese affairs of later date than the beginning of 1870, and there is but little in Sir Harry Parkes' private correspondence bearing upon the diplomatic history of the last thirteen years of his service in Japan. Were his despatches written during that period made public they would not only afford a most interesting and instructive record of those eventful years, but would in addition fully justify the course of European and especially British diplomacy in Japan, which has been so violently assailed by one or two men possessing little knowledge of the country or its history and displaying no willingness to deal with their subject in a spirit of generosity and justice. In preparing the remainder of this section I have, therefore, been obliged, in great

1873 measure, to rely upon my own notes and recollections as
ÆT. 45 a resident observer of events in Japan during the greater part of Sir Harry Parkes' career in that country, upon such information as there was time to glean from newspaper files, upon various notes and memoranda found among Sir Harry's papers, including a few drafts of despatches, and upon information kindly afforded me by some of his most able and trusted lieutenants.

Shortly after the return of Iwakura's mission one of the ablest of his associates, Kido, issued a sort of manifesto which is interesting as denoting a stage in the development of Japanese statesmanship. Still slightly Sinesian in tone, it advocates a representative form of Government, but rather as a counsel of perfection than a practical measure, for Japan is declared unfit for such a polity. The writer's countrymen indeed are scolded as pretentious mimics of civilization, and roundly told that although they may be gradually acquiring more elegance in externals and getting rid of their old rustic coarseness, they will find it hard all at once to become enlightened in their hearts. The phrase, 'elegance in externals,' sounds a little ironical in the case of those who remember the New Year's levees in the early seventies.

The main result of the mission was, as has been already stated, a settled policy to westernize the country and redeem its sovereignty, but the method contemplated was altogether wrong. Neither the members of the Embassy nor the Government can, however, be justly blamed for adopting an erroneous course, which was, after all, in large measure the outcome of bad foreign advice. I cannot, for my part, consider the careers of such leaders as Okubo, Kido, Iwakura, and Terashima—to mention only those who have passed away—without a feeling of deep admiration for their statesmanlike insight, their patience, resourcefulness, and courage in relation to all domestic affairs. It is less their success as promoters of a revolution that was not, after all, very difficult to bring about that will command the applause of posterity,

than their steadfast and resolute mastery, both of the anarchic and of the reactionary forces they had to deal with, on the emergence of their country from the isolation of centuries. If their constructive work has been less fruitful of permanent result, it is simply because they attempted to achieve in a decade what, under the most favourable of human conditions, could scarcely be effected in much less than a century. 1873 ÆT. 45

CHAPTER XXXI

FORMOSA AND LOOCHOO

1874

1874 Æt. 46 APART from the question of Treaty revision, which was not again mooted by the Japanese Government until 1878, but nevertheless coloured the whole of their policy, the subjects which occupied the attention of the British Minister, during the last decade of his service in Japan, were of an episodical nature. In 1874 Japan despatched a considerable naval and military force to punish certain semi-savage tribes of Southern Formosa, who had murdered a number of shipwrecked Loochooan junkmen. Such was the avowed object of the expedition: the real object was rather to affirm the sovereign rights of Japan over the Loochoo[1] Islands as against the somewhat shadowy supremacy of China based on that peculiar overlordship which, in virtue of her superior civilization rather than by any right of conquest, the Middle Kingdom has always claimed over neighbouring 'barbarian' states. There were other aims, in part of a more ambitious character, which Japan was supposed to entertain. It was alleged in some quarters that the Mikado's Government desired to found sugar-producing colonies in Formosa, and even to annex the whole island with a view to its conversion into a sort of Cuba. Others asserted that the expedition was a mere raid, undertaken to prove the temper of the reorganized

[1] Or Lewchew, Liukiu (Chinese); Riukiu (Japanese); Duchu (Loochooan).

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military forces of Japan ; and a third theory, which probably contained the most truth, found the motive of the Government in the political need of giving congenial employment to crowds of idle samurai and diverting attention from the far more risky scheme, then very popular in the South and West, of a war with Korea. Both Okubo and Iwakura were as much opposed to the Formosan expedition as they were to a Korean war. The unpopularity of this opposition had found expression in an attempt on Iwakura's life (January 1874) and in a serious rising of the Hizen and Saga samurai, to repress which Okubo himself had been despatched to the West. The leader of the rebellion, Yeto Shimpei, a distinguished leader of the Revolution and formerly a cabinet colleague of Okubo, was executed and his head exposed.

The punishment of the Formosan Botans was an easy matter enough—an interesting account of the manner of it, highly eulogistic in tone, was afterwards published by an American journalist, Mr E. House, who accompanied the expedition as a sort of official war-correspondent—but the real difficulty of the situation then became apparent. The Japanese showed some disposition to establish themselves permanently in the island, and, in addition, demanded compensation and a war indemnity from the Peking Government. China, always slow to move, began to arm. The literates disliked the Japanese for having abandoned the ancient ways, the latter returned the dislike with contempt, and a war which would have seriously affected commercial interests throughout the Far East, loomed distinctly into view. The Japanese Commissioner, Yanagiwara, backed up by American, French, and English paid advisers, assumed an uncompromising attitude, and asked for three millions of dollars. The Tsung-li Yamun refused to listen to such a demand, and a rupture was imminent, when Okubo appeared on the scene with more pacific (but secret) instructions. The Japanese Government had, in fact, found out that the Formosan game was not worth the candle. Mr Wade was at that

1874 Æt. 46 time British Minister in China. Though ignorant, of course, of Okubo's instructions, he saw that neither party really desired war, and hit upon a happy compromise which his tact and patience induced both parties to accept.[1] An engagement was come to, in November 1874, which in substance was drafted by that Minister. I have italicized the portions which so cleverly saved the dignity of both countries :—

> In the matter of the savages of Formosa reference being had to an understanding arrived at with the two Governments (of China and Japan) by the British Minister, Mr Wade, and to the instrument this day signed, recording the action to be taken respectively by the two parties thereto, *the Chinese Government will at once give the sum of* 100,000 *taels to compensate the families of the shipwrecked Japanese who were killed. In addition to this the Chinese Government will not fail to pay a further sum of* 400,000 *taels on account of the expenses occasioned by the construction of roads and erection of buildings which, when the Japanese troops are withdrawn, the Chinese Government will retain for its own use.*

In Sir Thomas Wade's despatch of the 16th November 1874, printed in the Blue-Book,[2] a most interesting account will be found of the proceedings, amusingly illustrative of Oriental diplomacy. His timely action earned the warm thanks of the Prince of Kung :—

> The Prince of Kung presents his compliments to Mr Wade.
>
> The Prince is in receipt of Mr Wade's note of the eighteenth day of the eighth moon. It contains the fullest proof of Mr Wade's very friendly feeling. While treating of what affects the common interest it even more concerns the Chinese Government. The Prince is extremely grateful for it.

[1] From documents before me it is clear that a total rupture had become a question of hours.

[2] Blue-Book, China, No. 2, 1875.

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The Japanese were equally pleased, and the Mikado invited the British Minister to a special audience for the purpose of giving expression to his satisfaction :—

To the Earl of Derby
Yedo
Nov. 16

I have the honour to report that the Foreign Minister informed me on the 24th inst. that the Mikado wished to receive me on the following day.

I accordingly attended at the palace yesterday afternoon and was received by His Majesty at a private audience. Only one Minister of the Household was in attendance.

His Majesty observed that he had wished to see me, in order that he might express to me his thanks for the good offices of Her Majesty's Minister at Peking. These had been rendered at a critical juncture, when friendly relations between Japan and China could not otherwise have been maintained, and had resulted in arrangements which were altogether satisfactory to Japan. His Majesty was very sensible of the advantage that Japan would derive from the preservation of peace, and requested me to convey to Mr Wade his thanks for his timely and effective assistance. In replying to His Majesty I observed that I was very sensible of the gracious manner in which he had been pleased to notice Mr Wade's services, and that I should have much pleasure in conveying His Majesty's thanks to Mr Wade, and also in reporting the same to your Lordship. I added that I felt sure His Majesty would see, from the spontaneous manner in which Mr Wade's good offices had been rendered, how sincere was the friendship entertained for Japan by Her Majesty's Government, and also what important advantages may be derived from friendly foreign relations. If a foreign friend had not stepped forward at the crisis lately witnessed at Peking, China and Japan would, in all probability, have now been engaged in war. His Majesty might be aware that the possibility of hostilities between Japan and China had for some time past been regarded by me with great concern; and His

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Majesty could therefore understand with what satisfaction I saw that this evil had been averted, that arrangements in every way satisfactory to Japan had been concluded, and that the blessings of peace had been secured to his country.

His Majesty appeared pleased with my observations. After the audience, the Minister in attendance informed me that Higashi Kuzé,[1] a noble, and member of the Household, had been despatched on the 13th inst. with a message from His Majesty to General Saigo, in Formosa, directing him to withdraw the troops.

There can be no doubt that the expedition to Formosa was a mere piratical raid. It was a question whether the Loochooans were Japanese subjects at all; if they were, redress should in the first instance have been sought by diplomatic means. But the expedition was sent without notice of any kind, and it was not until after its arrival that a Japanese envoy appeared at Peking to explain the reasons of its despatch. Sir Harry Parkes was equally opposed to Japanese filibustering and to what he regarded as Chinese pusillanimity. His letters to his old colleague and constant friend Brooke Robertson give his views emphatically enough :—

To Sir D. Brooke Robertson Yedo April 14

I am a sinner, as I always was, in regard to private correspondence, but here is an endeavour to pay a fraction of the long accumulating interest on a letter I received from you—when I would rather not remember. But in truth I have not found a very lively state of affairs since my return, and there was little that I cared to write about privately. The Japanese have committed the error of believing all that they have been told about themselves and increasing this by their own imagination, and the result is that their own little island is too small to hold them. This may be taken literally as well as figuratively, as instance this foolish expedition to Formosa. In this matter they have been led away by their own conceit, and by advice which fitted in exactly with

[1] See F. O. ADAMS, *History of Japan*, vol. ii. p. 105, 140, 158.

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that conceit, and which has been chiefly supplied by that man Le Gendre. . . . He accompanies the expedition as Adviser-in-Chief—for they are too jealous to give him the command. The scheme was on for a time last autumn when the Embassy returned from Peking, but when the other Ambassador appeared from Europe almost at the same time, he—Iwakura—saw the folly of it and put his foot upon the scheme as well as on that of war with Korea.

The recent insurrection, however, and the attempt on his own life have shaken his nerves somewhat, and although still opposed to war with Korea, because he knows that it is more than Japan can accomplish, he yields Formosa—as a sop to Cerberus—in order to quiet the hot bloods, who think Japan should enter on a career of conquest. The entire possession of Formosa is what is aimed at, but it appears to me that they are calculating without their host if they think that China will brook this. It is an opportunity for Li Hung-Chang and for the ships that the Chinese have been launching at their various arsenals! The Japanese means for war, away from their own country, are very limited. Their vessels of war are all worn out. The ram *Stonewall* cannot go to sea and the so-called Aberdeen ironclad is worth very little. They have not six fair craft in all, with armaments very inferior to those of the new Chinese ships, built at Shanghai and Foochow. Then there are your gunboats which, I am told, are most effective vessels of their class.

I suppose the Japanese expedition will land . . . before the Chinese have had time to rub their eyes and make their minds up as to what it is all about; but unless an understanding is pretty soon effected, I should think the Chinese would make the Japanese feel uncomfortable in their lodgement. The latter will have no base of operations and no port, unless they make friends with the Chinese and use Takow. They cannot even transport their present force, and have engaged some

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foreign vessels for the purpose. They appear to be equipping their force well. The troops are in number perhaps 3000, but they are sending a great number of artificers with framework huts, and in particular a strong corps of 220 sappers, well provided with trenching tools, who are to throw up a fort at Shaliaou or Langkiaou, where they propose to land. They intend to land on the east coast also and hold the south of the island from side to side. They claim a perfect right to do all this on the ground that the unsettled parts of Formosa do not belong to China, and because the Chinese disdained responsibility for the acts of the savages. They hope to secure a good footing during the summer, and in the cool season to pour in more men. The expense of this freak will be very great, for which they can obtain no return. They look forward, however, to acquiring a great sugar colony—a second Cuba, and to command the China coast and the China sea. I am afraid they are doomed to cruel disappointment, which I must say they richly deserve. They are doing all this without any reference to China, but are sending an envoy to Peking in the beginning of next month to explain their reasons for having despatched the expedition. . . .

Your son is looking very well, and managing his business admirably, as he always does. He has just sent in his Trade Report for 1873.

June 23

In this Formosa matter the Japanese and Chinese are both trying to overreach each other. It will be curious to see if they avoid war. If the Chinese had an atom of pluck they would demand the evacuation of Formosa very peremptorily, and in a conflict they must or should be able to lick the Japanese easily. But as they have no pluck, or at least a great aversion for extreme measures, they will temporize.

Of course the Japanese have no 'case.' It is mere expediency that takes them to Formosa—they go to satisfy the samurai. No one prevented their

going to Korea except themselves. They funk the Koreans and would doubtless be licked if they went there. But foreigners in China, being angry with the Chinese, sympathize with the Japanese, and foreigners here, having equal reason to be dissatisfied with the Japanese, would not be sorry to see their conceit humbled,—and so the world wags. 1874 ÆT. 46

I have your charming note of the 6th inst., for which best thanks. As is always the case, all your remarks are clear and full of pith. I want to tell you, though I must do so hurriedly, that 'General' Le Gendre goes down by this boat, the *Great Republic*, on a secret mission. He is to try to work or frighten the Viceroys of Canton and Fuh Kien, or any other local authority, and at the same time to estimate the amount of military preparations. His position in the Japanese service is utterly unknown and undefined. He calls himself all sorts of things, a *nitokwan* or officer of the second degree, whatever that may mean, but simply he is little more than an adventurer, . . . and is somewhat discredited just now from the Formosa expedition not having turned out such trumps as was expected. I sincerely trust the Chinese will not be so foolish as to try to buy off the Japanese. July 21

The Japanese Government are greatly divided upon staying [in] or quitting Formosa. I think they will try to remain, although they are in a fright lest the Chinese should fall upon their present small force and slaughter it.

I have taken a short trip to Hakodaté, where I have sent my family for three months. But I doubt whether the 8 or 10 degrees of coolness makes amends for the other drawbacks. It is a terribly lifeless place, though there is fine scenery and fishing hard by. But ladies and children do not care for those enjoyments. It is also a fine station for our fleet to visit in the summer, for purposes of health, and the only point from which we may watch Russian proceedings on the opposite Sept. 15

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coast. I hope Korea may not pass into their hands some fine day. The opening of the Hakodaté port saved Yezo, and if the Koreans were not such fools, they would see that the opening of their country would be their salvation also.

On returning I found that the Government here are breathlessly watching the result of Okubo's mission, and expecting to hear by this time either that the Chinese have given in or that he had demanded his passports. Instead of that a telegram comes to-day that he had only started for Peking on the 6th, and that the Chinese were holding out. I cannot imagine the latter sinking so low as to give in. If they do, we ought to learn something from such pusillanimity. But I don't think they will give in, and the leisurely way in which they have taken affairs has gained them time for their preparations, and has served to put the Japanese more in the wrong. Every day's delay is a gain to China but a loss to Japan, and the latter therefore will hurry on a settlement or a collision. I begin to think that the chances are in favour of the latter. In that case the Japanese will be the first to attack. Where? Shanghai—or Peking? Of course they think of the latter because the English and French have been there. But the lateness of the season renders such a move impossible.

Nov. 16

I received yesterday your note of the 5th inst. Since it was written we have both heard of the settlement effected by Wade. I think he is to be congratulated on his success; so are the Japanese who, thanks to him, have escaped from a very grave difficulty of their own creation; but how to congratulate China I do not know. She appears to fall sadly by the arrangement. I thought it possible that they might in the end agree to cry quits, on condition that the Japanese retired from Formosa, but I certainly did not expect to find China willing to pay for being invaded.

However, we are saved from a good deal of trouble

for the present, and I am glad that the settlement was effected through Wade's agency *after* relations had been broken off. 1874 Æt. 46

You wrote me a glorious letter on the 28th November. I think our views resemble very closely on the China-Japan question, now of the past fortunately. The luck has fallen to Japan, who certainly did not deserve it. I can't help feeling sorry to see the old country opposite give in, when she had right on her side, to this youngster among nations. I am glad there is no war, but Japan would have been glad of peace even without receiving a farthing, to which indeed she knew she could lay no just claim. Dec. 14

The Mint question is already settled. I have taken little interest in the institution lately, as the Japanese Government had ensured failure as early as 1871. They then, at the instigation of the Americans, gave up the plan of coining dollars for the East, and went in for a gold standard, and a gold coinage which nobody cared for out of Japan. This enabled the Americans to bring out their trade dollar. The Japanese were green with rage when they found out the trick, but they could not then remedy it. Now it does not matter a bit to foreigners who works the Mint or how it is managed. Its coinage can only be used for internal purposes, and will probably be nearly confined to copper. The recent attempt of the Oriental Bank Corporation to bring the Japan dollar into the market was an expiring flicker. It will have no chance either with the trade dollar of America or with the Mexican. There is no likelihood of the Japanese Government keeping Major Kinder. They have a great dislike to him because while he was in the Mint he insisted upon being 'Director' in reality as well as in name. Now the Japanese will not brook independence on the part of any of their employés—they must be tools, not even with opinions and measures of their own—and as Major Kinder would not be a tool he was not the man

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for their money. Nearly all have now been dismissed, and indeed there is not work for them. Two good men, Gowland and Dillon,[1] have been retained as 'advisers,' but the Japanese will take their advice only just to such an extent as they think proper.

These letters show that the British Minister was often strongly opposed to the methods adopted by the Japanese Government to achieve ends in themselves often just enough. He was not more opposed to them, probably, than many members of the Government were, but the latter were obliged to fall in with the prevalent currents of samurai opinion. In this necessity is to be found, doubtless, the explanation of the circumstance, which so greatly disappointed Sir Harry Parkes, that the new Government, with its constantly advancing knowledge of western ways, diplomatic and other, so often resorted to them for intermediate purposes of a character not consonant with their professions, or, indeed, with their real opinions. The wrong-doings of the Bakufu, which was a purely Oriental system, were in large measure excusable on the ground of ignorance and inexperience, but the Imperial Government desired to be treated as a European power, and could not complain therefore if judged rather by a European than by an Oriental standard. In the seventies it was less easy than it is now to admit the naturalness of the desire, and to diminish in an Oriental direction the rigour of the criterion: by the application of which, nevertheless, Japan has probably gained much more in the way of permanent advantage than she may have lost in temporary comfort.

As a writer in the *Chōya Shimbun* (*Court and Country News*) afterwards declared, the Formosan expedition ended in what amounted to a recognition by China of the Loochoo Islands as a portion of the Japanese Empire — to which, indeed, by race and geography, they belong. The Loochooans, however, were not desir-

[1] The former a distinguished archaeologist, the latter the son of Mr Frank Dillon, the painter.]

ous of exchanging the nominal supremacy of China for what they felt would be the much more burdensome jurisdiction of Japan, nor was China at all willing to abandon such overlordship as she possessed. Up to 1372 Loochoo was an independent State. In that year it came under the nominal suzerainty of China, preserving its autonomy as a *han* or 'palisade' State, that is, protective of the Imperial throne. In 1609 Loochoo became in some sense an appanage of Satsuma. Nevertheless, as the Government organ, the *Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* (*Daily News*), observed in its issue of 8th April 1879, 'Loochoo was nominally regarded as Satsuma territory by Japanese, but the Loochooans did not consider themselves subjects of Satsuma, and looked on the officers stationed at Nafa (the chief town of the Loochoos) as merely superintendants of trade with Kagoshima.' In a word, Loochooan autonomy was even less interfered with by Satsuma (unless possibly in the northern island) or Japan than by China. To Japan the Loochooans contributed no taxes and no men—essentials in a feudal State—and yielded no obedience. In addition the Loochooan king in 1854, 1855, and 1859 made Treaties with the United States, with France, and with Holland, without protest or action of any kind on the part of Satsuma, China, or Japan. 1874 ÆT. 46

On such grounds the Loochooans based a humble memorial to the Prime Minister of Japan, dated October 1875, of which a translation is given in an exhaustive memorandum on the whole subject drawn up by Mr Satow in 1879, from which the following extract is taken:—

> Our little country, which lies far away in a corner of the sea, has hitherto maintained its existence by the aid of the two august States [China and Japan], and if we were suddenly and without just cause to cease the observance of those courtesies which we have practised for the last five centuries . . . with what face could we present ourselves in China? . . . The happiness of

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Loochoo is involved, . . . so that high and low are robbed of their peace, and the public mind is agitated.

With reference to the recognition of Japanese claims alleged to be involved in the result of the Formosan affair the memorial continues :—

(We) have not received any communications . . . from China, but . . . in April last . . . the memorial and tribute were accepted [at Peking] . . . and the envoys were treated in exact accordance with existing precedent.

The promises of the Japanese Government to respect Loochooan autonomy are next referred to, and finally a pathetic appeal is made to the Minister at least to refrain from altering the constitution of the islands until such arrangements had been made with China as would relieve Loochoo from the charge of disloyalty—a serious crime according to Sinesian ideas—to a State whose beneficent influence the islands had enjoyed during a period of five hundred years. A rough negative was the only answer, and the Loochooans were ordered to put an end at once to their relations with China ; but nothing effectual was done by Japan until 1879, when the King was deposed and the islands formally incorporated with the Empire under the name of the Okinawa *ken* or prefecture. The policy of Japan meanwhile had been greatly resented by China, and a good deal of angry correspondence had taken place. The whole question was referred to General Grant, who was travelling in the Far East in 1879. He recommended a compromise, dividing the islands into a northern group, to form part of Japan, and a southern group, to remain under the overlordship of China. So absurd a compromise, though in some sense accepted for the moment, could not stand, and even as late as 1883 the Loochoo question was a source of peril to the amicable relations of Japan and China. It may now (1893) be regarded as settled. In the controversy with China Japan displayed on the whole both good sense and courage, but her treatment of the 'little

country far away in a corner of the sea' was ungracious and tyrannical. Seeing that for centuries the overlordship of China had been recognized both by the Satsuma daimios and the Bakufu Government, and was dear to the Loochooans, they should not have been annexed against their wish until China had been induced to abandon her claims. 1874 ÆT. 46

With these negotiations the British Minister had no direct concern, but he did what was possible to allay irritation and prevent a rupture with China. This policy was absurdly construed in some quarters as 'secretly fomenting a quarrel with China on the Loochooan question,' an accusation for which not even a plausible ground exists. From the drafts and memoranda before me it is clear that Sir Harry Parkes was at all times most anxious—it is difficult to conceive how he could be otherwise inclined—to preserve friendly relations between China and her progressive neighbour. A similar charge was made in respect of Korean matters, as will be seen, but was promptly denied by the Japanese Government itself.

CHAPTER XXXII

KOREA

1874–1883

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To Korean affairs we must now turn.[1] The Korean policy of Japan was identical in principle with her policy towards Formosa and Loochoo—in a word, with her Chinese policy. The whole story is told here consecutively, though such a course involves some anticipation of events, and a break in, or at least a digression from, the narrative of Sir Harry's service in Japan, which is resumed in the next chapter.

Ever since the raid of the Taikō,[2] Hideyoshi, in the sixteenth century, war with Korea had been a popular idea with the samurai of the South and West. In the annals of the latter days of the Bakufu references are not infrequent to Korea and to expected embassies from that country. During the troubles that preceded the downfall of the Shogunate the refusal of the Bakufu to undertake an expedition against the neighbouring peninsula was one of the grievances alleged against it. In 1873 certain documents were published, alleged to be translations of Korean despatches, in which Japan was mentioned with contempt. The docu-

[1] For a history and description of the peninsula the reader must be referred to Mr DALLET's great work, *Histoire de l'Église de Corée*, Mr GRIFFIS' pleasant compilation, Mr LOWELL's charming *Chosön or Land of the Morning*, and Mr CARLES' *Life in Korea*.

[2] *Taikō* was the title of a retired *Kwambaku* or Court regent.

ments were disavowed by the Japanese Government, and were probably forgeries. But they indicated plainly enough the tendency of opinion,[1] and the Government, though they had plenty on their hands at home, felt constrained to do something. Some commercial intercourse was still maintained with Korea through the island of Tsushima lying midway in the channel that separates the Dawn-Land from the Morn-Land. It was thought that closer relations might be established—possibly there was a hope that some sort of suzerainty of Japan might be admitted; and Hanabusa, a high official of the Japanese Foreign Office, was sent over to see what could be done. He accomplished, however, little or nothing. In 1874 another agent, Moriyama, was despatched to Korea, and induced the local officials to promise to receive a letter from the Japanese Government and send an envoy to Tokio. But when Moriyama presented himself in 1875 with the letter the Koreans would have nothing to do with him—a refusal which lent a handle to the war-party in Japan. Towards the end of the year a statement appeared in a native newspaper, the *Hōchi Shimbun* (*The News*), to the effect that the British Minister had advised the Japanese Government in favour of a war with Korea. This stupid allegation, due doubtless not to Japanese but to foreign malevolence, was at once denied by the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, who publicly characterized the rumour as 'false and slanderous,' adding that not only had Sir Harry Parkes never advised the Government in favour of a war with Korea but, on the contrary, had advised them not to go to war without very grave cause.

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At this time a trifling trade was carried on at Pusan[2] or Fusankai by Japanese merchants, who were supposed to

[1] In 1873 Soyejima, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, had matured a complete scheme for the invasion and conquest of Korea, which was on the point of being put into execution when the Iwakura mission returned from Europe. Iwakura, Okubo, and the other members of the mission at once denounced the plan, which was abandoned.

[2] The Korean name.

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come from Tsushima, and whose dealings were regulated by a Korean official. In September of the next year a Japanese steamer, the *Unyōkan*, which four days before had left the Gotō Islands, approached the mouth of the river leading up to the Korean capital, and began to take soundings for the mere purpose, it was alleged, of assuring the ship's position while a supply of wood and water was procured. The ship was fired on from the shore, just as, almost up to the fifties, foreign ships acting in a similar way on the Japanese coast were fired upon from Japanese batteries: in 1863 or 1864, indeed, I remember seeing the Shinagawa forts fire upon a man-of-war's boat occupied in taking soundings in the Bay of Yedo. The Korean fire was returned, and the next day a company of men and officers landed, slaughtered several dozens of Koreans, and destroyed the fort. The Japanese Government, on hearing of these proceedings, determined to take stronger measures, and to do unto Korea exactly what Japanese writers have constantly reproached the western Powers for doing (as they allege) unto Japan—namely, force a Treaty of friendship and commerce upon the little peninsular kingdom.

To the Earl of Derby Yedo Jan. 29 1876

In continuation of my previous despatches on the subject of Mr Kuroda's mission to the Korea, I have the honour to inform your lordship that the expedition, which appears to have now been increased to seven ships, arrived at Fusankai on the 15th instant, and remained at anchor there for eight days. On the 23rd instant the expedition sailed for Kōkwa,[1] where it ought to have arrived on the 26th. It is evident on all sides that the Japanese Government is getting a force in readiness; but, whether it will be necessary to resort to actual hostilities or not depends upon the manner in which the Koreans receive Mr Kuroda when he arrives at Kōkwa.

The expedition was successful, no notice was taken of Chinese suzerainty, and a Treaty was arranged, identical in essentials with those of 1858 with the Western Powers. The Japanese Commissioners landed and proceeded to

[1] In Korean, Kanghwa.

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To the Earl of Derby
Yedo
March 27

Kōkwa in considerable state, and on the 11th they had their first interview with the Korean Commissioners. They said they had been sent by their Government to learn, first, why the Koreans had broken the Agreement of 1874, which they had made with Mr Moriyama; and, secondly, why they had fired in September last upon the Japanese gunboat *Unyōkan*. The Korean Commissioners pleaded that the local officers of Fusan were to blame for the Agreement not having been carried out, as they had not reported what had occurred to the Government at the capital; and that the firing on the *Unyōkan* was a mistake, as the Koreans did not know she was a Japanese vessel.

The Japanese Commissioners observed that, the two charges having thus been fully admitted, the question of reparation remained to be considered, and, breaking off the interview suddenly, they said they would inform the Korean Commissioners the next day of the satisfaction they had to demand.

At the interview the next day the Japanese Commissioners placed in their hands the draft of a Treaty which the latter said they would accept as satisfactory redress, provided it were at once agreed to. They were willing to allow the Korean Commissioners four or five days, but not more, to consider it. The Korean Commissioners asked for ten days, as they had to submit the Japanese demands to the Government at the capital. The Japanese Commissioners replied that they would allow that time, provided that within the ten days the negotiations were completed and the Treaty signed and exchanged. The Korean Commissioners appeared to acquiesce, but on the ninth day they began to urge objections, and firstly on the point of form. The draft Treaty gave the Mikado the title of 'Kōtei' (Chinese 'Hwang-ti' or Emperor) and the King of Korea 'Ō' (Chinese 'Wang' or King). This did not denote equality between the two nations, which was professed in the first article of the Treaty. As the Koreans

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could not adopt the title of 'Kōtei' they wished the Agreement to run in the names of the respective Commissioners only. This could not be acceded to by the Japanese Commissioners, who, however, expressed themselves willing to use the names of the two nations —Dai Nippon and Dai Chōsen[1] (Great Japan and Great Korea)—instead of the titles of the Sovereigns. The Korean Commissioners then began to raise other difficulties, which were met by the Japanese Commissioners threatening to break off negotiations. On the tenth day, 22nd of February, they did return to their ships, saying that they would give the Korean Commissioners two or three days to consider whether they would sign the Treaty as it stood with no other alteration than the one above named, as they, the Japanese Commissioners, would agree to no further modifications. On the 25th the assent of the Koreans reached the Japanese Commissioners, who proceeded again to Kōkwa on the 26th, signed the Treaty at 9 A.M. on the 27th, re-embarked the same day, and on the 28th the fleet weighed and left Korea.

In a later despatch Sir Harry makes the following remarks relative to these proceedings:—

> Article 10 is specially noteworthy, as showing that the Japanese Government, who have lately complained of the extra-territorial clauses of foreign Treaties with Japan, have been careful to stipulate for the right of jurisdiction over their own people in Korea. They have also imitated those Treaties in not making this right reciprocal, as the Foreign Minister has explained to me that this article does not give the Koreans jurisdiction over their people in Japan. It is, in short, almost a repetition of articles 4 and 5 of the British Treaty of 1858 with Japan. The resemblance between

[1] The Koreans call their country Chosŏn; the Chinese give it the name Chaosien; the Japanese Chōsen, all different pronunciations of the same word. Korea is an older name, in Korean Koriyŏ, Chinese Kaoli, Japanese Kōrai.

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this Treaty and the British Treaty of 1858 with Japan is remarkable. The omissions or differences are almost entirely confined to those articles in the last-named Treaty which relate to the exchange of coin, custom-house control, and similar subjects. It has been explained to me that the Japanese Commissioners omitted mention of these matters on finding that the Korean Commissioners were wholly uninformed about them and unable to discuss them intelligently, and they therefore inserted instead the 11th article, which secures the due consideration and the arrangement of all such details within six months. No allusion is made in the Treaty to any other nation.

The Japanese Government organ frankly declared that in the matter of the Treaty Japan intended to serve her own interests only.

Already the French had bombarded Kanghwa (Kōkwa) in 1866, the Americans followed suit in 1871, and in 1880 Italy tried to make a Treaty with the help of the Japanese, whose help at that time ensured failure. In 1881 a Korean embassy reached Tokio; its object and proceedings are not clearly known. About this time the great Li Hung-Chang, often termed the Chinese Bismarck, wrote some singular things to a Korean official:—

> Of late years Japan has adopted western customs. . . . Her national liabilities having largely increased, she is casting her eyes about in search of some convenient acquisition which may recoup her. . . . The fate of Loochoo is at once a warning and a regret to both China and Korea. . . . Her aggressive designs upon Korea will be best frustrated by the latter's alliance with western nations.

It was a new thing for a Chinese statesman to recommend barbarian alliances to a country whose king received investiture from Peking. In May 1882 Commodore Shufeldt appeared before the Söul river in the U.S. corvette *Swatara*, accompanied by four Chinese gunboats, and with Chinese aid negotiated the first Treaty ever

1882 concluded between Korea and any western Power. The Treaty was a clumsy performance, recognizing that 'Korea has always been tributary to China,' but adding that 'the Treaty shall be permanently regarded as having nothing to do with this.' Extra-territorial jurisdiction was provided for, but it was to cease when the 'Korean Government should bring the laws and procedure into harmony with those of the United States.' A curious clause was inserted giving 'most favoured nation privileges,' but continuing, 'all special concessions made to the most favoured nation shall be explained and made public, so that the contracting parties may know that such concessions have been made to the favoured nations under special clauses.' This appears on the surface just enough, but, as the Shanghai correspondent of the *Times* explained in a letter dated 30th June 1882, might easily work most unjustly. The Treaty was not ratified at Washington, and similar instruments negotiated in June by Admiral Willes on the part of Great Britain, and by the captain of the *Stosch* on behalf of the German Empire, were not accepted by their respective Governments.

Meanwhile grave events had occurred which must be shortly related. The King, who was progressist, died, and named an adopted son as successor. His father the Tai-wŏn-Kun hated foreigners, especially the Japanese, and headed or incited an attack upon the Japanese Legation, several members of which were killed. The nobles took no part in this outrage, and were, in fact, opposed to the Tai-wŏn-Kun. The Japanese Minister Hanabusa with several of his suite narrowly escaped destruction, and hastening to the shore luckily found a boat in which they put out to sea. After drifting about for some days they were fortunately picked up by H.M.S. *Flying Fish* and taken to Nagasaki. During the disturbances many high officials of the Court were murdered. It was even rumoured that the Queen was assassinated, but after the nation had gone into mourning for her she reappeared. Japan promptly exacted due reparation, China too in-

terfered, asserted her overlordship, and by a cunning stratagem got hold of the Tai-wŏn-Kun and deported him. A curious proclamation was issued by the King, forbidding attacks upon foreigners, and ordering the removal of the stone pillars bearing inscriptions denouncing intercourse with foreigners that had been set up at the time of the French bombardment of Kanghwa (Kŏkwa) in 1866. In May 1883 General Foote exchanged at Söul the ratifications of Commodore Shufeldt's Treaty. It was an apparent triumph for American diplomacy thus definitely to bind Korea as she had already linked Japan with the West, and the occasion was celebrated with much pomp and display. But General Foote himself described the Treaty as so much waste paper. 1883

On the 27th September 1883 Sir Harry Parkes was Minister at Peking. As usual he lost no time in getting to work. Korea first engaged his attention, stimulated no doubt by the priority of other Powers in obtaining their Treaties, and by the nature of the Treaty concluded by Admiral Willes, every line of which was repugnant to the mind of the British Minister. On the 27th October he was at Söul, on the 30th of the next month he was back again at Chefoo with a satisfactory Treaty in his pocket. He had outdone his Japanese performance of 1865, and within two months of his arrival in China, proposed, negotiated, and concluded with the Korean Government a new Treaty as just and reasonable as it was practical in its provisions.

The story of his exploit is told in his letters to his daughters, which amusingly describe his vigorous method of work :—

To Miss Parkes
H. B. M.'s Legation
Söul, Nov. 6, 1883

I have been ten days here, and this is the first letter that I have attempted. I have just written to Captain Fullarton (the captain of the *Sapphire*) to beg him to send *Kestrel* to Chefoo at daybreak on the 9th, and as I know that I shall be exceedingly pressed in the intervening period, I will try to scribble a letter to you to-night before the pressure comes on. Where am I to

1883 begin? I have to try to recollect when I last wrote to you. It was on the 24th from Chefoo? thirteen days ago. It seems an age since, but I will try to retrace it. We got on board *Sapphire* about five o'clock on the 24th with difficulty on account of the stormy weather. Your Jamie[1] helped me greatly. He directed his steamer, the *Sin Nanzing*, in which we had come from Tien-tsin, to go out several miles under the shelter of an island—the *Sapphire* went out also, and we transferred ourselves and our luggage on the *Sapphire's* boats.

Sin Nanzing then went on to Shanghai and before daybreak *Sapphire* weighed for Korea. We arrived at the anchorage of Chemulpo at 2 P.M. on the 26th, and found that Zappe[2] had arrived in the *Leipzig* on the evening of the 24th. He had thus headed me by a day and a half, which I did not like, but it could not be helped, as it was a consequence of the bad weather which I had encountered. Aston was aboard immediately, and I arranged with him to land the next morning in order to go to Söul. Zappe called, Korean officials called, captains of German, American, and Japanese ships-of-war called, and I had to return Zappe's call, all which caused much expenditure of powder in saluting. Zappe and myself with our suites landed the next morning at Söul. Although we had landed our baggage the previous afternoon, we found it still lying on the beach owing to the utter absence in this country of any organization in regard to transport. For two hours we vainly endeavoured to get something like order into the mob of people and animals who were intended to convey us. There were bullocks for the baggage, ponies of the sorriest description for those who liked to ride, and strange somethings, which might be called chairs or palanquins, but which resembled the

[1] Mr J. J. Keswick of the firm of Jardine, Matheson, and Co.

[2] Consul for the German Empire at Yokohama. He died some years ago, greatly regretted by the residents of all nationalities.

upper half of bathing machines, for those who did not choose to ride. I mounted at ten, feeling that nothing more could be done to get the mixed mass to move, and that every one must get on as best he could. My pony refused to do more than crawl, and I was told that this was the only pace that ponies in this country are acquainted with. Still the day was fine, and the country novel and not wholly uninteresting in appearance, and for two hours Zappe and myself with Hillier and Aston jogged along in pleasant conversation, Maude being afoot with his gun in order to be free to beat any patch of cover or swamp that might lie off the road. But at noon our prospects became clouded, for rain commenced to fall. We tried to push on and soon became separated. At half-past one Aston and myself in advance of all the rest reached what Aston called a half-way house, where he had deposited some days before some aliment in the form of three bottles of beer, a bottle of whisky, one of claret, and a tin of biscuits, which we found very acceptable, for my escort-man, entrusted with the lunch supplied by Captain Fullarton, was nowhere. We waited for others to come up: first Bruce [the groom] arrived, then Hillier, and then Maude with three snipe. I held a short council and determined to rush it—that is to make our ponies carry us into Söul, regardless of baggage and those who could not keep up with us—our train of servants (Chinese) being no less than twelve. The rain came down more heavily, and the roads (if you could use the word) became sloughs. Still we made our ponies go at a pace they had never gone before, and every one was so cheery that we really enjoyed the fun of the pitiful position. By dint of carrying our ponies as much as they carried us we reached the gate of Söul soon after five and our quarters at half-past, soaked through and very chilled. Aston's servant welcomed us; we threw off our wet clothes, dressed ourselves in Aston's wardrobe, and soon sat down to a capital 1883

1883 dinner. Korean officials came to bemoan over our plight, but I sent them off to assist those who were still on the road, and to keep the gates of the city open that they might pass in. All through the night our men came straggling in in ones and twos—the last not arriving till nine the next morning. Zappe, who had changed his pony for a chair, reached the city gate at eleven o'clock at night. Two rivers had to be crossed, one fordable, the other deep with a strong stream. The latter in the dark and rain and howling wind was a great difficulty. During the 28th our luggage gradually came in, or rather part of it—for the last two packages only reached us yesterday! All was more or less soaked, and had to be opened and dried — the scene reminding me of Uncle Hall's hymn :—

By the waters of Hanyang (the Söul river) we sat ourselves down,
We sat ourselves down for to cry,
And because all our clothes they were wringing with wet,
We hanged them up for to dry.

Zappe and I commiserated and pitied each other. I organized an 'office,' got a table or two for desks, arranged papers, foolscap, pens and ink, organized food arrangements, and the next morning, the 28th, we were ready for work.

29th.—Conference of two hours with Zappé. Then made a series of official calls. I turned out very decently. Green chair which I had brought from Tien-tsin (how it reached Söul is a marvel), eight chair-bearers in new uniforms brought from Peking, two escort men in full uniform, which they had worked hard at to brush, white belts well pipe-clayed, Hillier, Maude, and Aston well dressed, and myself in frock-coat, tall hat, and new gloves, as decent as if I had been in Regent Street. Saw General and Mrs Foote and heard all her woes. Visited the Korean yamun, and showed them more civilization in the way of dress than they had ever seen before.

30th.—More visits and another conference with Zappe. 1883

30th, 31st, 1st Nov.—Hard at work with Zappe on a draft of our proposed Treaty, Trade Regulations, and a tariff of duties. Finished these in rough, and translated them into Chinese. On 2nd made fair copies, and on 3rd delivered them into the yamun by our secretaries, who were instructed to read every line both in English and Chinese over to the Ministers of the yamun. It took them a long day.

3rd, being Mikado's birthday, official visit to the Japanese Minister.

4th, Sunday—a welcome day of rest (comparatively). Morning, took a ride into the country. Afternoon, conference with Zappe.

5th, 6th.—Long conferences at yamun, that of to-day lasting till 6 P.M. I think we have made an impression and have some hopes that we are going to succeed. Zappe having been disposed to take a gloomy view, I assured him some days ago that we were bound to succeed. Asked me for my reasons, which I declined to give, as I had none, but I nevertheless told him that we should succeed. (There were many reasons why we should not, but these I maintained would disappear.) Might have been lugubrious myself if I had not occasionally thought that I must play the part of a true knight to my own little ladye love, and that I must not go back to her without a suitable trophy. Pinned her glove in imagination to my right arm, and by means of her inspiration made my pen scribble and my tongue wag. The evenings were seasons of refreshment. The four of us, Aston, Maude, Hillier, and myself formed very good company over very fair dinners. Always a soup—three entrées—one sweet—plenty of wine, and with the feast of reason and the flow of soul for dessert. We discussed our business and made fun of that and other subjects, plotting our work for the next day, at which every one

1883 of my boys worked with a will that nearly exhausted them by last Saturday night — the 3rd. Sunday refreshed them, and a couple of fainting Chinese writers were kept going with champagne and quinine. To-morrow the King and the Council of State sit solemnly, and perhaps not entirely at their ease, on our proposals, and we shall know our fate on the morning of the 8th. I believe our proposals will be accepted, and I told the President of the yamun on leaving him just now that although the King and the Council might have the pleasure of sitting on them throughout to-morrow the cushion could not be made up in any other shape, and the Treaty as it now stands, after having been trimmed a little to meet their wishes, was the only one that Zappe and myself could agree to. Mentally I shall spend a thorny day to-morrow, but I believe we shall come out all right. Zappe is an excellent colleague, agrees with me in everything, and at the same time has made several very valuable suggestions which I have gladly adopted. Our *amour propre* is concerned in the negotiation, for we are sensible that *friends* are not wanting in high places out of this country who would not be grieved if we were to fail.

To Miss Mabel Parkes Söul, Nov. 8, 1883

Instead of continuing my letter to Minnie I send the P.S. to you. I have this moment come from a long conference with the Korean Ministers which forms the turning-point of our negotiations. We have carried our points so far that we have agreed on a basis of negotiation, and the remainder of the work, although there will be plenty of it, will only be matter of detail. I am therefore relieved of considerable anxiety as I feel I have got to the top of the hill, and a journey on the descent is comparatively easy.

I wish I could stay to give you some particulars of our life, but I have not time. My courier must be despatched in half an hour, and I have to close despatches and write half a dozen notes.

Let me, however, just give you an idea of my quarters. This is the plan :— 1883

Office.	Reception-Room.	Dining-Room.	Drawing-Room.	Bed-Room.
1	2		3	4

Each of 1, 2, 3, and 4 are little rooms of 13 by 7— not very large. The dining-room is a good room but is something like our hall at Peking—too public to be comfortable. However, we get on very well.

Söul is prettily situated on five hills within the city, and with plenty of good walks if I had only time to take them. People civil but of weird appearance—the men like old Welshwomen with their big black hats and long white dresses—the women in fantastic but not uncomely dress — something like petticoats and mantillas, and always wearing bright colours, mauve, light-green or blue or white. I like the people. The main streets are much cleaner than those of Peking, though the back streets are very poor slums. Houses or huts are very poor. Weather favours us, and we have not yet suffered much inconvenience from cold. Some fair provisions, as beef, cabbage, and pheasants are procurable, and we fare fairly well. If I could only have your and Minnie's embrace I should be perfectly joyous. However, that embrace is my beacon which encourages and speeds me on in my work. I feel now that it will have a satisfactory issue, and that I shall be rewarded for all the care I have given to the Korean question for the last eighteen months.

Aston very well and as good as gold of course; Hillier and Maude are admirable assistants. I now expect to be able to get away about the 24th. Continue to write to Chefoo so that when I arrive there I may find a bundle of sweets awaiting me.

I wrote you a week ago by *Kestrel*, and the

1883
To Miss Parkes Söul Nov. 15

interval has not been as satisfactory as I could desire in regard to my negotiations. I cannot yet feel certain as to the issue, for difficulties not then foreshadowed have crossed our path, and unless the Koreans accept my standard of what the Treaty should be we may not come to terms. At the pace we are progressing there remains *at least* ten days' hard work before us, and thus my margin of time is becoming very narrow. The want of sufficient time is a great disadvantage to me. I work all day long in order to save an hour when that is possible. Our comforts are scanty and quarters ill-adapted to the season. Frost is setting in, and is attended with hail and snow and rain, so it is not surprising that we all have colds. But everybody keeps up well in our party, better than in the German Mission. Zappe is a capital colleague, I could not wish for a better; and I believe we shall carry our points yet, though we shall have a tussle before we do so.

No sooner is the Treaty concluded than the necessary steps are suggested for procuring its proper ratification.[1]

To H. S. Wilkinson Chefoo Dec. 1 1883

I have scarcely a moment to write privately. My official to you sent through Hughes will show you that I succeeded in signing a Treaty on the 26th. It proved a very hard job, but in the end we carried all points. I trust the sections in Articles IV. and V. which relate to Regulations both as to settlements and for the peace, order, and good government, etc., will meet with your approval, and that I am not troubling you too much in begging you to draft a short Order in Council. It is important that the ratifications should be exchanged as early as possible, and that the Order in Council should come out with them. . . . I of course suppose that the Consuls in Korea will hold Provincial Courts under the Supreme Court. Would you kindly tell Rennie that I cannot write him a word, but he

[1] Sir Harry made a second visit to Korea in April 1884 to exchange the ratifications: see below, p. 372.

might like to offer an opinion on the subject in some way to the Foreign Office, and I should be obliged to him if he would. I think the Jurisdiction article is pretty clearly worded, and I wish we had similar Treaties in China and Japan. 1883

I have been animated by the thought that this Treaty may serve our interests in those countries as well as in Korea where the stake is comparatively small.

On his return he just managed to get up the already half-frozen Peiho :—

To Miss Parkes
Tien-tsin
Dec. 4

After a good deal of hard labour and trials of temper and patience we signed our Treaties on the 26th *only*, but we gained *everything* that we desired. I had then, however, run to the very end of my time. Audience with King followed on 27th. On 28th we packed up and paid ceremonial calls of *p. p. c.*, and on the 29th started. Managed with difficulty to embark the same evening. Weighed in *Sapphire* at daylight on 30th, reached Chefoo at noon 1st. Arranged to go on in *Kestrel* at daylight of 2nd, there being no other opportunity, and every hour being of value. You know what a little craft she is for such a party as myself, Maude, Hillier, a Chinese writer, two escort men, and ten servants. We left Chefoo in the teeth of a gale, and had a very bad time of it all Sunday and Sunday night. Yesterday morning it moderated, and we managed to reach the bar and cross it at dusk. Came upon the river this morning, moving rather slowly on account of the quantity of ice we had to crush through. A day later, and I might have been shut out!

I must now sit down and write my despatches about the Treaty, for if they don't go off in the next two days, to catch a vessel at the bar, they may be delayed for twenty. I must also see the Viceroy here, and I have a whole pyramid of despatches, etc., lying on the table, so I shall require at least three days here. I shall be truly happy if I can get away on the morning of the

1883 8th. . . . I intend to try to ride up in a day, and it will be late when we make the last stage; we can only hope just to save the city gates. . . . The last part of a trial is generally the most severe, and to be obliged to stay here for three days instead of rushing on at once to you is hard to bear. But you would wish me to do my duty, and indeed I could not feel that I merited all the love you will give me unless I had properly acquitted myself of my knight's service.

To Sir T. Wade Tien-tsin Dec. 8

Pray pardon me for my silence. It has not been wilful but enforced. First illness in Japan; then coming to China with its attendant turmoil and anxiety; then being sent off to Korea before I had got into the Peking saddle; and now the work which is the result of my absence. I have just saved the river, and barely so, for my vessel—a gun vessel—was the last one to enter this season. I have just scratched off a hasty report and am now starting for Peking—of course by road—to rejoin my lonely daughters. When I get there I will really endeavour to write you. . . .

I should be glad if you would take a look at the Korean Treaty. I consider that it is more to the address, as you would say, of China and Japan than Korea itself; but I trust it may prove serviceable there also. I believe you ought to commence in a new country on the lines you desire to follow out, and that a single-barrel measure is seldom effective.

The Treaty[1] is a model of clear drafting, and its provisions are carefully worded to meet all the hair-splitting objections that had been brought against the Treaty with Japan, with the aim apparently of persuading the world that the British Consular Courts were not intended to oust Japanese law but merely to administer it according to British forms of procedure. The duties range from 5 to 20 per cent *ad valorem;* on cotton goods a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is imposed. The ports opened are Chemulpo, Wönsan [Gensan], and Pusan [Fusan]; the

[1] Printed in Appendix (F).

cities, Hanyang and Yanghwachin. Within a radius of 100 li no passports are needed, beyond that limit passports are required, but there is no restriction on trade contracts in the interior, as is still the ungracious rule in Japan. Books and other printed matter disapproved of by the Korean authorities are not to be taken into the interior. Municipal and other regulations for the maintenance of peace, etc., under proper arrangements, are binding on British subjects. Certain goods are prohibited, opium for smoking, firearms, powder, dynamite, and all adulterated drugs. It is lastly expressly declared that the Consular jurisdiction granted by the Treaty, 'shall be relinquished when, in the judgment of the British Government, the laws and legal procedure of Korea shall have been so far modified and reformed as to remove the objections which now exist to British subjects being placed under Korean jurisdiction, and Korean judges shall have attained similar legal qualifications and a similar independent position to those of British judges.' 1884

A year after the conclusions of the Treaty, on 4th December 1884, another murderous outbreak occurred in the capital, the materials for the following account of which have been contributed by Mr Aston, who was an eye-witness of the affair. Some of the younger Korean officials, dissatisfied with the position and prospects of their country, formed a conspiracy to overturn the Government, disembarrass themselves of the Chinese, and establish a progressive system controlled by themselves. Of these men the chief ringleader was a clever but wholly unscrupulous official named Kim ok Kiun, and associated with him were Pak Yŏng-hyo, son-in-law of the former King, Hong Yŏng-sik, who had just been given charge of the Postal Department, and one Sŏ Kwang-pŏm. To inaugurate the Post Office a banquet was held, to which the Foreign Representatives were invited, as well as a number of the leading Korean officials; among the latter was the Queen's nephew Min Yŏng-ik. Towards the close of the feast an alarm of fire was given. Several

1884 of the guests, in the discharge of their official duty, at once left the table to extinguish the fire, among the others Min Yŏng-ik. Some few minutes afterwards he was brought back into the banqueting-room, pale, and bleeding from a number of wounds from which it was a miracle that he ever recovered. At this juncture the report of a pistol, fired in the courtyard outside, was heard, and a general stampede ensued. Herr von Möllendorff, it is only right to add, remained behind after every one else had disappeared, and took charge of the wounded man, removing him later to his own house. Meanwhile, on the invitation of the conspirators, who, under the leadership of Kim, had thus initiated their *coup d'état*, the Japanese Legation escort had got under arms and marched towards the palace; here they took charge of the King's person, aided by some Korean soldiers belonging to Kim's party. The conspirators then sent for their chief political opponents, and caused them to be murdered in cold blood, one by one, as they arrived—in all five or six were thus despatched within the precincts of the palace itself. At the same time messages were sent to the British, American, and German Representatives, advising them to take refuge in the palace until the disturbances were over. The Representatives, however, declined this counsel, although they were ignorant of the murders which had been there committed, and it was fortunate for them that they refused, as the invitation was nothing less than a trick to make it appear that the Foreign Representatives countenanced the proceedings of Kim and his associates.

When the Chinese became aware of what was going on, they got together a force of Koreans, and with their help attacked the palace. In the struggle which followed a eunuch took the King on his back and made his way to the Chinese camp. The conspirators at once saw that the game was up and ceased further fighting. One or two were killed, the remainder escaped to Japan.

Only two or three Japanese soldiers were slain, but many of the Japanese merchants who lived dispersed

through Söul fell victims to the fury of the populace, who 1885
detested the Japanese and vented their wrath upon the conspirators by destroying their houses. The Post Office was also destroyed.

The Korean Government denied that any attack was made on the Japanese Legation, and it is probable that no authorized attack was made, though in the course of the fight the Legation may have been fired upon. The Japanese envoy, however, resolved to evacuate it, and forming his escort, with the women, children, and wounded in the centre, marched through the streets firing pretty indiscriminately at every Korean they caught sight of, thus killing a good number of non-combatants. Shortly after their departure from the Legation it was seen to be in flames, but whether by accident or otherwise there is no positive evidence to show.

These events naturally led to strained relations between Japan on the one hand and Korea and China on the other. But by the skill and good sense of Inouyé, whom the Japanese Government lost no time in sending to Korea, the matter was settled in a very short time—upon terms that were not unreasonable, the Japanese Government probably feeling that the action of their own people had not been altogether free from blame.

The absurd conduct of the German named Möllendorff[1] was the strange occasion of their reconciliation. He had been appointed by Li Hung-Chang adviser to the King, and the better to play his part went about dressed in Korean costume. His one aim, to the disgust of Li Hung-Chang, who had placed him at the King's side specially to carry out an exactly opposite policy, was to establish a Russian protectorate, and with that object he drew up a Treaty that would have given the Tsar a port in Korea. The danger was too plain, Möllendorff

[1] Concerning whom Mr Zappe had already written to Sir H. Parkes (7th April 1884): 'There can be no doubt his [Möllendorff's] influence is on the wane. He has tried the difficult task to serve at the same time three masters,—Korea, China, and Japan; leaving other matters out of consideration he was, therefore, sure to fail sooner or later.'

1885 was sent about his business, and Japan consented—tacitly at least—to the restoration of Chinese suzerainty. The King's father, a man of firm character though somewhat of a fanatic, was recalled from China, where he had been interned since the events of 1883, and made adviser to his son at Söul. The result was peace under the almost nominal overlordship of the Middle Kingdom.

In a letter, written only two months before his death, Sir Harry, who had always taken a great interest in Korean affairs, refers to the Söul disturbances and their bearing upon the political situation. The writing is as firm, fluent, and rapid as ever, but the restless spirit chafes under physical weakness. After forty-three years of incessant labour he cries, not for peace, but that he were ten years younger and in good health, that so he might better bear the strain of his work.

To W. G. Aston
Peking
Jan. 17
1885

I have now your letters of 19th and 24th December; the last arrived last night. You and Mrs Aston have had my warmest sympathy in the terrible troubles you have gone through, and I have seldom looked for letters with more anxiety than I did for yours. I am deeply thankful that you were at no time exposed to personal attack. When so much excitement prevailed and blood was being so freely shed, Korean ferocity—as shown in the Foulke incident—might have been directed for the moment against foreigners generally, and the tragedy have taken a wider scope. I hope you or some one will be able yet to give a full description of it for print: —the dinner scene; the King in his cold little room the next morning, helpless; . . . the usurpation of the palace by the Japanese conspirators; the quick revulsion of popular feeling and attack on the palace; the king *jumping on the back* of an attendant and flying in that most peculiar form; the attack on the Japanese Legation; and the bloody way in which they retreated from the city, are scenes which could make a most startling drama.

Your illness was most unfortunate, though by no means surprising, considering the cold and exhaustion to which you were exposed. I am thankful that you had your good wife by your side throughout. How did Mrs Foote manage to have been left alone when you all went to Chemulpo? Is it true, as Li Hung-Chang has it, that she saw the Queen and heard her denunciations of the conspirators? You do not mention the Queen in your despatches or letters. I hope she is safe. What a bloody villain Kim ok Kiun must be! Why, he killed three out of the four men whom the King at our private interview named as his special confidants—he, Kim, being the fourth. Poor Min Yŏng-ik and Min Taiho, to think that they should have fallen in this way! And he, Kim, has got off safely to Japan, it is said! He certainly ought to be brought to the gallows. 1885

Your telegrams have, of course, given me much later news than your letters. It would be desirable that you should give them a date that I may know when you send them off. The one about mediation I did not quite understand, but I concluded that it was immediate mediation on the spot that was intended, or otherwise I did not see how it served the purpose of Inouyé to accept it. But if he accepted it he evidently went on without it, as three or four days afterwards he settled his affairs with the Koreans himself. I am glad he did so, as that is a point gained, and the Koreans are out of the questions that remain to be settled between Japan and China. What form Japan will give to those questions, or what they are, I do not yet see. Plunkett has telegraphed to me several times that the Cabinet anxiously desire to maintain peace, but that the party of action are crying out for war. But war for what, and on what grounds? I see as yet no *casus belli*. Plunkett also telegraphed yesterday that Japan was prepared to embark 50,000 men in thirty days. I replied that I doubted her ability to do

1885 anything of the kind, and that she had better be warned not to rashly engage in war with China; that France was fast making China a military nation, and that the latter, encouraged by her successful resistance of France, was not likely to submit to a menace from Japan, although she earnestly desired to avoid a conflict with her in order not to give France the great advantage of her alliance. If Japan unnecessarily throws herself into the French row she will not please us or America. . . . I thought Takegoyé would have proved a wiser man, but he showed himself true to the old Japanese spirit of intrigue and murder. I am anxious to hear what decision will be taken at Tokio when Inouyé returns there.

I see from the newspapers that the four Chinese ships have gone to Chemulpo (not to Masanpo) this time, which is a new feature. They are more powerful than the Japanese ships, and the German commodore (Lebelin) could make small account of the latter if he had a chance. But I hear that the Japanese Admiral and General who accompanied Inouyé posted off to Shanghai instead of returning with Inouyé to Tokio. What to do? To see Patenôtre. I thought the Japanese had been convinced that it would be foolish of them to join the French and had refused to entertain the idea. But they are—*impulsive*, and the Government may not be unwilling to divert their scribbling public from home affairs. But if they engage in war with China they will have to give a reason for it, and whether we shall let our large interests suffer for their rash fancies is a question. I am afraid Japan is inclined to call on China to withdraw her ships from Korea, and if so, she will meet with a refusal. And a refusal would not justify Japan in going to war with China. I think you will find your post a very interesting one during this year. I am glad that Colquhoun has visited you, for Korea has sadly wanted writing up, and I do not doubt that it will now attract a good deal of public attention.

I am glad I sent Carles[1] back to you. Our communications are very imperfect just now, but as soon as the river opens they will probably improve, and many chance opportunities will offer unless the French come into the gulf. But who can tell what this year may bring forth? Your position in Korea will make you judge of the troubles that came upon me from all points in this country. Not a port but sends forth a bitter cry if left for a week without a ship of war! The claims of all kinds that are pouring in on me involve most laborious and most unsatisfactory work. I wish I were ten years younger and in good health, and then I should not mind the strain. But I don't know how long I can stand it now. Certainly no convict could be at harder labour. 1885

I have reported home the exchange of the ratifications of the German Treaty and its coming into operation on Kim's letter. I suppose Zembsch announced it to you. He seems to have broken down suddenly and thoroughly. I am sorry for Foote's reduction, as it will grieve him and Mrs F. How do these troubles affect Möllendorff? Your last letter (24th December), telling me that health and vigour were returning, relieved me a great deal. You managed marvellously well to get off your despatches of 19th December under such difficulties. I know you will write as fully as you can. Full information is a great assistance to me, and leaves me less to do. Before you telegraphed for leave I hoped

[1] W. R. Carles, then Vice-Consul for Korea, and now Consul at Chinkiang. Mr W. G. Aston had been appointed Consul-General in March 1884. He entered the service in 1864, and was Acting Japanese Secretary in 1870. In 1875 he became Assistant Japanese Secretary, in 1884 Consul-General in Korea, and in 1886 Japanese Secretary at Tokio, with (shortly afterwards) local rank as 2nd Secretary of Legation. He was made a C.M.G. in 1889, and retired in the same year. Standing in the very forefront of Japanese scholarship, ranking with Satow and Chamberlain, he is the author of the standard grammar of the Japanese language and of numerous contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, among which may be specially cited his papers on Early Japanese History, his account of Hideyoshi's (Taikō) invasion of Korea, and his essays on the language and literature of Korea.

1885 you would run for milder air for an interval. But I could not say in my telegram 'Go in the middle of January for a month,' as in the same message as that in which you asked for leave you reported the application for mediation, and I could not tell you to *mediate* and *go* in the same breath. My very best regards to dear Mrs Aston, and believe me, most truly yours, H. S. P.

P.S. 18*th*.—Just as we are closing our letters this morning I receive your telegram from Hiogo, 'Arrived 15th, improved.' I am glad to think that you will now soon recover completely. By the bye, you did not report the remission of the Japanese indemnity of 400,000 *yen!*[1]

[1] Which the Koreans had agreed to pay for the attack on the Japanese Legation and settlement.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE GREAT SATSUMA REBELLION

1877

1877
ÆT. 49

UP to 1878 the new Government felt itself anything but secure, and the anxieties of the Foreign Representatives were correspondingly great. Constant risings took place in the provinces, many of which were caused by the incapacity of the officials charged with the local administration. An intelligent and experienced civil service is not to be created in a day, and these troubles were, on the whole, inevitable incidents of the situation rather than marks of incapacity on the part of the Government. But there were outbreaks of a different kind and of a much more serious character, which were chiefly due to the lack of constitutional means of changing or modifying Cabinets that were nothing more than passing combinations, effected among a dozen or so of the leaders of the Revolution, under the dictates of intrigue and cliquism among themselves or of competition for place among politicians of subordinate position. Up to the time of the Satsuma outbreak there had been five of such insurrectionary movements, every one of which had taken place among the samurai of the South and West. The pretexts were various—hatred of the foreigner, the wickedness of the Mikado's advisers, the necessity of war with Formosa and Korea in defence of the national honour, and the capitalization of the samurai pensions were among the chief. But with the exception of the last-mentioned,

1877 Æt. 49 all were of a merely colourable nature—what was at the bottom of all these troubles was an inordinate desire, amounting almost to a passion, for place. To the Japanese La Bruyère's criticism of his own countrymen may still be applied: 'Il faut beaucoup de fermeté et une grande étendue d'esprit pour se passer des charges et des emplois.' The leaders of these movements were men of ability and even of distinction, such as Eto (or Yeto) Shimpei,[1] who was deeply versed in Chinese and Japanese learning, and Maebara, who had done good service during the revolutionary war. Both these men were decapitated and their heads exposed. Among Sir Harry Parkes' papers is the translation of a petition addressed to the Mikado by Maebara, written apparently a few hours before his execution. In this curious document, which is not wanting in lofty and pathetic touches, an effort is made to explain away the rising—usually known as the Hagi rebellion—as an attempt to prevent Shimazu Saburo from accomplishing the design he is alleged to have formed of inveigling the Mikado to Kioto and procuring his own nomination as Shogun.

Of that romantic but bloody episode, the terrible struggle which in 1877 closed the period of rebellion that ensued upon the fall of the Shogunate, something more than a passing notice seems proper. The complications it gave rise to were many and serious, and it required all the British Minister's tact and firmness to deal with them satisfactorily. Had the rebellion proved successful (and had the subsequent proceedings in Tosa been antedated, success would have been by no means impossible) most of the diplomatic work of the previous decade must have been done over again. The despatches of the year are unfortunately not available, but in 1879 a full and authoritative account of the Satsuma rebellion appeared from the pen of the late Mr A. H. Mounsey, who, as Secretary of the British Legation

[1] A former Minister of State, leader of the Saga insurrection, caused by refusal of Government to go to war with Korea in 1874.

in Japan, had peculiar opportunities of obtaining information. Upon that work, which met with Sir Harry's entire approval, and which was largely based upon reports drawn up by the present Japanese Secretary to the Legation, Mr J. H. Gubbins, the following summary of the last struggle of Old Japan is mainly founded. 1877 ÆT. 49

The province of Satsuma, celebrated throughout Japan for the excellence of its faïence, the bravery of its samurai, the breed of its horses, and the quality of its tobacco, seems never to have fully accepted the suzerainty of the Tokugawa Shoguns. It was the Satsuma clan that bore the principal share in effecting the changes of 1868-1869, and their leaders were the first frankly to admit the superiority of the foreigner in the arts of war and peace. Among those leaders none was more prominent than Saigo Takamori. Born at Kagoshima in 1826, of simple samurai parents, his energy and ability early gained him the confidence of his prince and the consideration of his clan. Of his youthful devotion to the cause of the Mikado the romantic story, probably not wholly apocryphal, may be read in Mr Mounsey's pages, and will be found to present a curious picture of the social and political condition of the country during the latter decades of the Shogunate. At the close of the civil war he was specially rewarded for his political and military services by an annual pension of 2000 *koku*, and was, in addition, appointed to a prominent post in the Ministry of War. He soon, however, became discontented with the policy of the new Government and in 1873 he headed the war party in the Cabinet, divided against itself upon the question of the invasion of Korea. On this question the Satsuma leaders were themselves divided, for Iwakura, the chief of the peace party, was supported by Okubo, a Satsuma samurai and a former fellow-worker with Saigo, as well as by Terashima, who had been physician to the daimio of Satsuma. The peace party, fortunately (it cannot be doubted) for Japan, gained the day and

1877 Æt. 49 Saigo retired to his province. In 1874 his brother, who did not share his opinions, was given the command of the Formosan expedition. In 1876 a Treaty was forced upon Korea, but whatever good results were expected from a spirited foreign policy were nullified by the decree promulgated in August for the compulsory commutation of the hereditary pensions and allowances of the daimios and samurai, the liability for which had been taken over by the Government, together with the lands out of which they issued.

Notwithstanding the abolition of the daimiates in 1871, Satsuma, up to 1877, still retained, practically, its local autonomy. The officials of the province were all Satsuma samurai, including the governor, Oyama, of its capital, Kagoshima, and secretly or openly adherents of Saigo, who had employed his pension of 2000 *koku* in establishing what was termed a 'private school,' but which was in reality a sort of military garrison, composed of his most devoted followers. The arsenal of Kagoshima was at his mercy and the Government of Tokio, with a negligence it is not easy to understand, allowed him without interruption to perfect arrangements, of the meaning and object of which it could not have been ignorant. In October 1876 a body of 120 samurai attacked and massacred a portion of the garrison of Kumamoto, a stronghold in the province of Higo, lying not far from the northern frontier of Satsuma; but the movement was premature, and finding no rising follow their outbreak, eighty-four of the insurgents committed *harakiri*, while the remainder surrendered to the Government. Disturbances took place soon afterwards in the north of Kiushiu and in Chōshiu, and a plot to assassinate Okubo, who though a Satsuma man was specially obnoxious to his fellow-clansmen as the chief author of the commutation scheme, was about the same time brought to light. An attempt was made to conciliate the Satsuma samurai, upon whom the burden of commutation fell

with peculiar force, but resulted in failure; and early in 1877 the 'private school' party,—upon a pretext founded on the confession of a police-officer, extracted from him by torture at the instance of Oyama, and given in full by Mr Mounsey at the end of his book, that the Government had sent emissaries into the province to murder Saigo,—broke out into open rebellion. The Government, which received the news amidst the festivities that marked the opening of the railway between Osaka and Kioto, acted with vigour and promptitude. Forty thousand men, with an army of coolies, were poured into Kiushiu, and the southern and western provinces of the island soon resounded with the din of arms. The insurgents—many of them clad in armour—fought principally with swords with such skill and bravery that the Government troops who, armed and drilled in the European fashion, were for the most part levied from the non-samurai classes, could not withstand them, until they were supported by the police, who were nearly all samurai and accustomed to the sight and use of the tremendous national weapon. The intention of Saigo seems to have been to march to Kokura on the south shore of the Straits of Shimonoseki, thence to cross into the main island, and proceeding to Kioto possess himself of the person of the Mikado. We shall not attempt to follow in any detail the fortunes of the war, the principal events of which were the relief of Kumamoto and the battle of the Pass of Tawara. No great generalship seems to have been displayed on either side, the arms were more or less European in character, but the tactics were mainly based upon the traditions of military art of the days of the Gongen Sama,[1] and the struggle was for the most part a series of hand-to-hand combats, ambuscades, and surprises, diversified with some curious stratagems,

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[1] A common designation of Iyeyasu. It is a Buddhist term applied to Shintō deities, who, according to the Buddhists, were nothing more than latter-day manifestations of their own gods.

1877 Æt. 49 the details of which will be found in Mr. Mounsey's book. Very few prisoners appear to have been made in the course of the war, a significant fact which accounts for the immense proportion of killed and wounded combatants: out of some 60,000 no less than 34,000 were found to have been slain or disabled when the struggle ended in September, in the complete discomfiture of the rebels and the slaughter of their leaders. The closing scène of the rebellion was the wild tragedy of Saigo's death. Towards the end of August (1877), accompanied by a few hundred retainers, he abandoned the rebel army. The Imperialists supposed the war to be over and left Kagoshima carelessly guarded. Saigo took advantage of their neglect and easily breaking through the Imperialist lines, intrenched himself with 500 men in a depression of the rocky summit of a considerable hill called Shiroyama (Castle Hill) situate in the rear of the town. On the 24th of September after a tremendous bombardment, a general assault was made upon the position which, in the teeth of an obstinate resistance, was finally carried, with a loss to the assailants of not more than thirty men. Of the defenders some 200 were made prisoners, most of them severely wounded; the remainder were slain. The last scenes of the bloody tragedy are best told in Mr Mounsey's own words—

'Saigo was among the first to fall, wounded by a bullet in the thigh. Thereupon Hemmi Jiuroda, one of his lieutenants, performed what samurai consider a friendly office. At one blow of his keen heavy sword he severed his chief's head from his shoulders, in order to spare him the disgrace of falling alive into his enemy's hands.' He then committed *harakiri*. The hero's head was buried but subsequently discovered by a coolie. Around Saigo 'fell one hundred of the principal samurai of the Satsuma clan, who had sought to protect their chief to the last, and refused to survive him.' The head, 'disfigured and ghastly, clotted with

blood and earth,' was brought the next day to Admiral Kawamura, who 'reverently washed the head with his own hands, as a mark of respect for his former friend and companion in arms during the war of the Restoration.' The grave of Saigo is visited, adds Mr Mounsey, by thousands who come to offer up their prayers at the tomb of the hero, around whose martial figure a host of traditions have already collected. The popular belief is that 'the spirit of the great general has taken up its abode in the planet Mars,' and that 'his figure may be seen when this star is in the ascendant.' But 'the spirits of his followers have not, according to the popular belief, soared so high; for the people say that a new race of frogs has appeared in Kiushiu; that the spirits of the dead rebels have animated this race, and so imbued it with their own courageous nature, that the frogs attack man whenever they see him, and never desist from their attacks until they are killed.' So miserable a metempsychosis has a stupid myth assigned to the gallant souls who sixteen years ago gave their lives in the desperate cause of the last of the samurai. 1877 ÆT. 49

Here may well follow a letter from Mr Gubbins,[1] in which a vivid description is given of the state of Kagoshima a year after the conclusion of the great struggle:—

From J. H. Gubbins Kagoshima Jan. 18 1879

> We arrived here on the evening of the 17th and the following day Captain Byrne and myself called on the Acting Governor, Watanabé, and presented the letters of introduction with which we had been supplied by the Governor of Hiogo. We were received very courteously and the Governor promised to give the necessary directions to the branch offices of the *ken* (or rather *han*) in Loochoo, in order that every facility might be given to Captain Byrne in regard to the wreck at Yoronjima.

[1] Mr. J. H. Gubbins was appointed a student-interpreter in 1871, and became Japanese Secretary in 1890. He is the author of a valuable and laborious dictionary of the Chinese words contained in the Japanese language (Sinico-Japanese compounds), which is specially distinguished by the marvellous accuracy of the meanings given; and he has contributed many excellent papers to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.*

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In the afternoon we were shown over the town by one of the officials of the Kencho, an officer who was sent in charge of the *Aline* screw to Kobé. But there was very little to be seen. It is impossible to describe the scene of desolation which Kagoshima presents at the present moment, and I was the less prepared for this having been led to believe the reports I had read in newspapers, which spoke of the efforts which were being made to restore the town. There are three buildings in Kagoshima—I may say four—but one is not yet finished. There is the Saibansho, a new erection, the Kencho, which just shows above the ground, the premises of the Fifth National Bank, and a Temple (also quite recently erected) belonging to the Higashi Hongwanji sect of Buddhists. The rest of the town, as it exists, is made up of rows of wooden sheds of the roughest description, a few of which are converted into shops, which can boast only of a poor stock-in-trade. All that is left of the former city is comprised in a few scattered godowns,—showing the marks of shot and fire, and the ruins of houses, walls, and gardens. And these ruins lie as they fell in the summer and autumn of 1877, not a tile disturbed or a heap of broken mortar and cinders touched. Here and there a tree or a portion of neatly trimmed fence is to be seen which has escaped the general destruction, but these solitary fragments serve only to show what once was and make the contrast with the surroundings all the more startling. The Government have, I was told, expended 700,000 *yen* in relief to the thousands whom the destruction of their homes rendered destitute, but there is little to show for it, and it is difficult to believe that fifteen months have elapsed since the last fight near Shiro-yama which terminated the struggle.

With a surprising generosity the Government assigned an eminence outside the town as the burial-ground for the rebels who fell in the insurrection. The site is a prominent one. It was formerly occupied by a temple

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but the insurgents razed the buildings and erected a fort in their place. Here lie Saigo, Kirino, Shinowara, Beppu, the two Murata, Saigo's son, and some five hundred others, and though the inhabitants lack either the means or the will to repair their own dwellings, all seem to have united to pay the last honours to their fallen kinsmen. Extensive preparations are being made to erect tombs over the various graves, and those of Beppu, Murata, Shimpachi and others have already been provided with handsome monuments. From the rebel burial-ground we went to the valley underneath Shiroyama where Saigo and his adherents made their last stand. We were shown the caves hollowed out by the rebels as a protection from the fire of the Imperialists, and the spot where Saigo fell. It appears that when the advance of the Imperialists was perceived, the few remaining rebels left their caves and ran down to the entrance of the valley, or gorge, which was defended by a barricade thrown across the road, and here they met the Governor's troops and were shot down. The affair was over in a few minutes.

In answer to an inquiry I was told that the population of Kagoshima was about the same as in 1877—that is about 130,000, but I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this statement. As for the appearance of the population it is dejected in the extreme. This dejection is especially noticeable in the faces of the women, who appear unusually timid and reserved.

The Kencho and Saibansho officers live in a separate compound, which is divided from the rest of the town by a stone wall, and I was informed that the gates are closed at 10 P.M., after which hour no one is allowed to go out or come in. This precaution is necessary, it was explained, owing to the large numbers of disaffected *shizoku*[1]—who live in the outskirts of the town, and annoy the officers of the local administration whenever they have an opportunity of doing so

[1] The former samurai have been so designated since the Revolution.

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undetected. There would seem therefore to be little sympathy as yet between the governors and the governed.

I have drawn a very dismal picture of Kagoshima, but I fear I have failed to convey an adequate idea of the wretched state of the place.

In the following pleasant letter, from the son of the then Prime Minister, at that time pursuing his studies in England, the Satsuma rebellion is mentioned. The letter itself is a proof, were any wanting, of the friendly personal relations that existed, despite occasional official brusqueries, between the Japanese Ministers and Sir Harry Parkes :—

From J. Sanjō July 1 1877

I presume that you have heard of my safe arrival in England and my busy studying since, from Mr Wilkinson, to whom I wrote a few months ago when a friend of mine went home. I hope you have been quite well since I left you. I am very sorry that my country has been again troubled with a civil war, which naturally checks the progress of her mental as well as material civilization. But I am glad to hear now and then, that the Government side is winning. I hope the Government will stand firm till the end without yielding one inch to the rebels in the way of making compromise or such other nonsense. I think, although a Government should always be careful in proposing new measures and consult the disposition of its people before it lays down those measures, yet when they are once laid down they must not be changed or annihilated by the mere fear of being attacked by a few dissatisfied people who rise up against the Government from ignorance of their own affairs. Still, at the same time, I hope our Government will for the future be more careful in its dealings with the people. Here in Europe people are discussing the Eastern Question which, of course, is larger in scale than the question of our small domestic struggle in Japan ; and I watch with much interest the progress of this international event.

Turning to my individual question, I am very happy

to be able to tell you that I passed my Roman law examination last May, and I am now fairly advancing towards the final completion of my legal studies. I enclose a copy of a speech I made at a meeting at Chichester, whilst I was staying at Mr Freeland's,[1] and also a copy of my speech at the dinner of some members of the Geographical Society, to which I was invited. I hope they will amuse you. 1877 ÆT. 49

Now I will close this letter. Please to present my best compliments to Lady Parkes and remember me kindly to Mr Wilkinson, Mr Hall, and others I know in Japan.

[1] The late H. W. Freeland, formerly M.P. for Chichester.

CHAPTER XXXIV

NEW JAPAN IN THE SEVENTIES

1874–1877

1874-77 THE refusal of the English Foreign Office in 1872 to discuss the question of Treaty revision with the Iwakura mission on the ground that it had no proposals to make and was furnished with no powers, was avenged, on the return of the mission to Japan, by a complete reversal of the demeanour of the Government towards the British Minister. It is scarcely too much to say that their attitude became one of latent hostility to foreigners in general, and of course to Englishmen in particular as outweighing in number and interest any two or three of the other Treaty nationalities, an attitude much more injurious in its results and difficult to deal with than the *jōi* or anti-foreign spirit of Bakufu and revolutionary days. Nevertheless, though the counsel of Sir Harry Parkes was less often directly sought, his opinion was far from being disregarded by the members of the Government, and the assertion is entirely justifiable that during the last ten years of his service in Japan he still contributed very much more than any other foreigner to the making of modern Japanese history. Of that history up to the close of 1877 the principal events have been already briefly noticed, it remains to give some account of a few of the more important among the many minor occurrences of the period.

An evidently inspired article, which appeared in

the *Tokio Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* (*Daily News*) of the 3rd December 1874, on the joint-occupation of Saghalin by Japanese and Russians, prepared the way for the cession of the Japanese southern half of the island, which took place in the following year. On the ingenious logic of the article, which endeavoured to convince its readers of the superiority of a sprat to a herring, nothing need be said, but the history it gives of this curious affair is interesting and fairly accurate. 1874-77

Towards the close of the eighteenth century[1] Russia made several attempts to open up communications with Japan but in vain. Even an embassy sent to Nagasaki bearing a letter from the Tsar to the Tycoon demanding a commercial Treaty was unsuccessful. Somewhat later a party of Russians, fourteen in number, who landed on the island of Itorup were seized and thrown into prison, whence they escaped the next year. In 1806 two small Russian men-of-war visited Kushunkotan in Saghalin. The crews landed, robbed the godowns, and carried off some of the inhabitants. They also fastened a copper plate on the porch of a temple stating that it was unjust to prohibit trade, and that if this policy were persisted in the Russians would ravage the north of Japan. The news greatly alarmed the Bakufu and considerable preparations were made to repel invasion. The next year (1807) the Russian ships appeared at one of the recently-formed Japanese settlements in Itorup, and landed a couple of hundred men who committed various outrages and carried off some half dozen prisoners. Negotiations were opened by the Japanese which ended in renewed hostilities. The Japanese settlers were driven away, and their chief, a subordinate officer named Toda, committed *harakiri* in consequence. Of course the alarm of the Government was greatly increased and all sorts of rumours flew about—one was that the Russians were giants twelve feet high. At Hakodaté and at various places on the

[1] See Mr ASTON's account of Russian descents on Itorup in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. i.

1874-77 Saghalin coast the Russians again appeared, burning and pillaging ashore and afloat. Finally the prisoners taken at Kushunkotan and Itorup were set free—to one of them was entrusted a letter ending with the sentence: 'If you comply with our wishes (to make a Treaty of commerce) we shall always be good friends with you; if not we will come again with more ships and chase you about.'

In 1811 the Russian ship *Diana* was sent to survey the Kuriles. By a stratagem the captain and a number of his officers were seized ashore at Kunashiri and made prisoners by the Japanese. They were kept in captivity for two years and treated with great cruelty, but the captain, Golovnin, who wrote a singularly touching narrative of the detention of himself and his companions, had the magnanimity to see that the cruelty was official and not due to any want of humanity on the part of his captors, who were as little harsh as their sense of duty permitted.[1]

Meanwhile from the close of the eighteenth century onwards feeble attempts were made towards the colonization of Saghalin by Russians from the North and Japanese from the South, and in the course of time the more or less colonized territories approached each other. In 1854 Count Poutiatine endeavoured to arrange a boundary line, but without success. Further efforts were made, and in 1864 the Bakufu sent a special envoy to St Petersburg to discuss the question. 'The Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, however, perfectly aware,' continues the writer in the *Nichi-Nichi Shimbun*, 'that the Japanese had a vice of making proposals and disregarding real results,' would not listen to him, and finally a sort of joint occupation was agreed to, of which Russia no doubt saw the necessarily short duration. In 1869 trouble again arose, to which Sir Harry Parkes refers in a letter dated 18th September of that year to his wife, then in England :—

[1] Golovnin's account illustrates strikingly the fidelity with which their *chiushin* or loyalty impelled the officers of the Bakufu to execute the duties entrusted to them.

1874-77

What a day I have had! A very important question has occurred in Saghalin to the north of Yezo, which if not carefully treated by the Japanese Government may occasion a rupture between them and the Russians, in which case the former would go to the wall. The Russians are reported to be concentrating 1200 men at the extreme south of Saghalin, with the object I think of taking Yezo if the Japanese give them the chance. Yezo would be a most serious loss to the Japanese and a great gain to the Russians. I have advised the Japanese to throw force into Yezo, and not to quarrel about Saghalin, to which they have only a questionable right. In a weak moment, some years ago, they agreed with the Russians to a joint occupancy, which means of course that the whole island will be appropriated by the Russians. This cannot be helped, I fear, but Yezo may be saved.

No doubt Yezo was the *terminus ad quem* of Russian policy—which they may yet attain—and the Japanese Government was right in following the British Minister's advice. In exchange for the southern half of Saghalin the Japanese received the Kurile Islands, a compensation they had, perhaps, more wisely rejected. The shame of the cession, unavoidable though it was, was deeply felt by the samurai. One of the last instances of *harakiri*—exclusive of the wholesale *harakiri* that followed the suppression of the Satsuma rebellion—was that of Ōhara, a Yezo militia lieutenant, who disembowelled himself in 1889 before the tombs of his ancestors in Tokio, driven to suicide by brooding over Russian encroachments;[1] and the strange attempt made on the life of the Tsarevich, near Lake Biwa, in 1891, was an expression of the same feeling.

A word or two may here be said on the question of Sovereign titles, which by the influence of the British Minister was finally settled in 1874. It arose through the action of the Superintendant of Customs at Yoko-

[1] See B. H. CHAMBERLAIN, *Things Japanese*, 2nd ed. p. 199.

1874-77 hama, who in an official communication (to the British Consul, I believe) designated Her Majesty as *Nio-ô*, Chinese *Nü-wang*, or female chieftain. It was probably an inadvertence, but on being requested to withdraw the term he refused, instigated thereto, it was alleged and may well be believed, by foreign advice. In the Treaty of 1858 the characters *nü-wang* are employed, doubtless by way of intentional depreciation: they are really equivalent merely to Royal Highness and not to Majesty. Had the British Minister referred officially to the Mikado as *nan-ō* — male chieftain — the Japanese would have justly regarded the expression as a distinct insult. In far-eastern countries questions of title, nay, even of the position of a title in the column, have always been of great importance: —the quarrels with Korea, to give but that instance, in the seventeenth as well as in the nineteenth centuries originated in the use of characters regarded as not sufficiently honorific. Hence it was necessary that a decided course should be taken, the more so because the native press began, not unsuccessfully, to imitate the style of the Superintendant of Customs.[1] The end was a notification from the Prime Minister to the effect that all Sovereigns should be styled *Kōtei*, Chinese *Hwang-ti*, Supreme Ruler, and all Presidents of Republics *Dai Tôriô*, Great Chief or Controller. These expressions, indeed, had some years previously been agreed upon between Sir Harry Parkes and the Japanese Foreign Office.

During the year 1875 the relations of the Treaty Powers with Japan were, on the whole, extremely friendly. In February the British and French marines that for some years had been stationed at Yokohama were withdrawn.[2] They might, probably, have been quite safely withdrawn

[1] Hoshi Toru, a member of the English Bar, and the President of the Japanese Chamber, whom that body quite recently refused to recognize.

[2] British troops were first stationed at Yokohama in 1864. There were a battalion of marines and the second battalion of the 20th Regiment, together with, or replaced by, detachments of a Beloochee Regiment and of the 67th, 9th, 10th, and (I believe) 11th Regiments.

at an earlier period; but their presence, if not absolutely necessary, at least saved the Japanese Government trouble and expense, and caused millions of much wanted hard dollars to be added to the specie-stock of the country. In addition they served as a sort of military model for the reorganized Japanese services, whose officers eagerly availed themselves of such an excellent opportunity of obtaining a practical knowledge of their profession. Every honour was paid to the battalion on its departure; the commandant, Colonel Richards, and his officers were presented to the Mikado by Sir Harry Parkes, and entertained by the officers of the Imperial marines, whose organization was the work of Lieutenant Hawes, R.M.L.I., now H.M. Consul at Tahiti. The foreign residents gave a ball, and as the battalion marched down, drums beating and colours flying, to the pier, every man, woman, and child in the place, Japanese and foreign, turned out to bid them farewell. It was long before the settlement recovered from the loss of so considerable and genial an element in its society. 1874-77

To Christianity complete toleration was accorded. Further, the Government took steps to mitigate its own despotism, and the Sa-In [1] and Yu-In,[2] which were mere appendages to the Cabinet, were replaced by the Genrō-In,[3] in order—to quote the language of the Imperial Decree—'to widen out the fountain-head of the establishment of laws,' and the Daishin-In,[4] 'to render firm the powers of careful judicial procedure.' These bodies, however, were merely deliberative assemblies of Crown nominees, and of themselves effected nothing, though doubtless they served as steps towards the fuller realization of a constitutional monarchy that was afterwards achieved. The same judgment may be passed on the Assembly of Provincial Governors established a month or two later.

In April 1876 Yamagata, the Minister of War, pub-

[1] Left or Superior College. [2] Right or Inferior College.
[3] Senate. [4] Supreme Court.

1874-77 lished a memorial which, especially as coming from such a source, would have revolted every sentiment of Old Japan. At various times between 1868 and 1871 the wearing of short swords by commoners had been forbidden, and in September of the latter year the wearing of two swords by samurai was made optional, save in full dress, when it was compulsory. In a debate on the custom of wearing two swords, held in the so-called Japanese Parliament of 1869, Mr Aston's *précis* of which[1] gives a most curious picture of the strange unrest of the time, one of the speakers declared with enthusiasm, 'What samurai is there with a spark of the Yamato spirit in him who will throw away his sword!' and the proposal to make the custom optional, either generally or in special cases, was unanimously rejected.[2] Yet some half dozen years later the War Minister characterizes, unrebuked, those who still carried two swords as 'obstinate and unpolished men,' and shortly afterwards the practice is abolished by edict. Then, with the curious inconsistency which has never seemed strange to Orientals and is fast becoming a virtue in Great Britain, hardly was the ink dry on the edict of abolition than the edict was itself rescinded by another one, which permitted anybody who liked to wear two swords. No one, however, cared to do what every one could do, and the custom soon disappeared altogether.

One of the most important of many internal questions which occupied the attention of the Government—the capitalization of the samurai pensions—was a good deal discussed about this time both in official circles and in the foreign and native press. The question was one which interested foreigners through its bearing upon the financial condition of the country and upon the expansion of trade. It was carefully studied by Sir Harry Parkes,

[1] Blue-Book, Japan, No. 3, 1870.

[2] An excellent account by the late Mr T. R. M'Clatchie of the sword of Japan, and of the sort of adoration with which it was regarded, will be found in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. ii.

and it is much to be regretted that no definite statement of his views upon the measure is available. When the *han* were converted into *ken* in 1871 it was agreed that the daimios should receive one-tenth of their assessments, which was no ungenerous treatment, and that the Government should charge itself with the payment of their rice-incomes to the samurai. In 1873 these pensions amounted to twelve and a half millions of dollars—about a third of the land tax. Upon the advice and with the personal assistance of Sir Harry Parkes, the Government borrowed the sum of £2,400,000 in London at the cost of a little over $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the purpose of buying up the pensions at a certain number of years' purchase, the capitalized amounts being paid half in cash and half in 8 per cent bonds, redeemable after three years and inalienable to foreigners. It was calculated that in this way the whole of the pensions would be got rid of in about eight years, leaving only the foreign debt (reduced annually by a sinking fund, provision for which formed part of the scheme) as a subsisting charge for a further term of years. The measure, however, was not compulsory, and in 1876 the Government found itself obliged to decree a forced commutation, which was extremely unpopular, and formed one of the chief articles of the Satsuma indictment. Under the latter scheme the larger pensions were commuted at five years' purchase, the smaller at fourteen, secured by bonds bearing interest, in the case of the larger incomes at 5 per cent, and of the smaller at 7 per cent. There were in all 318,428 pensioners, of whom 586 received over 1000 *yen* per annum, 15,484 over 100 and less than 1000 *yen*, and 302,358 less than 100 *yen*. The income of the first category was reduced to a fourth, of the second to two-thirds, and of the third to about three-fourths of what they had respectively been entitled to under the settlement of 1871. The confiscation was undisguised, the plea was necessity, the necessity was due chiefly to the feverish haste with which the process of westernization was being carried out. 1874-77

1874-77 In February 1876 the British Minister took a step which was much discussed at the time. Upon the representation of the Japanese Government that the publication of newspapers in Japanese by persons not subject to the press laws might be subversive of internal order, he issued a notification forbidding British subjects from printing or publishing such newspapers upon pain of imprisonment, or fine, or both. What led to this strong and strange action of the Legation was the foundation by a British subject, Mr Black, of a newspaper in the Japanese language, the *Bankoku Shimbun* or *Universal News*. That Mr Black would have conducted his paper in a manner injurious or offensive to the Government no one alleged; but the anomaly was patent, and it could scarcely be pretended that the extra-territorial system should be used, or rather abused, in a way that would have enabled the native press to evade the laws enacted for its regulation, by virtually placing itself under the protection of a foreign Power.

In no country in the world, unless in Russia, is the censorship of the press so severe as in Japan. Under the Shogunate nothing of a political nature was allowed to be published at all—though the reactionary histories of the Mito and Shinto Confucianist schools were permitted to circulate freely enough. The first newspaper, properly so-called, was the *Mainichi Shimbun* (*Everyday News*) of Yokohama, and its foundation was closely followed by that of the *Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* (*Daily News*) in 1872. Both still exist and occupy a high place in Japanese journalism. In 1873 Mori Arinori,[1] afterwards Minister to England, established the *Meiroku Zasshi*. At this time no press laws existed—the whole Tokugawa code appears to have been cast aside with the dynasty—and of most of the news-sheets the violence, scurrility, and even obscenity were such as to call for immediate and stringent regulation. The remedy, however, was

[1] He was assassinated by a Shinto devotee in 1889 for an insult, real or fancied, offered to the chief shrine at Isé.

soon seen to be a convenient political instrument, and in 1876 it was enacted that every periodical publishing any matter that might be deemed likely to disturb the peace of the nation might be suspended at the discretion of the Naimushō or Home Office. 'This, the grossest injustice conceivable,' said a native writer, 'will throw an indelible stain upon the history of the Meiji period'—the present reign. The rigour of the censorship does not seem to have abated since 1876. A few years ago an editor was condemned to four and a half years' imprisonment for some expressions held to throw a slur or a doubt upon the mythical Emperor Jimmu, popularly believed to have founded the Mikadoate in the seventh century before Christ. It may be that severity of this kind is necessary. No foreigner is sufficiently acquainted with the domestic politics of Japan to write dogmatically on the subject. But this much is certain, that such severity tends to show that the people requiring it are still a long way behind the peoples of the West. In 1877 a Japanese publicist wrote—'The restraints placed on the free discussion of public events hinders on the one hand reform, . . . on the other it prevents any improvement being made in the condition of society, . . . forming on the whole a great obstruction to any real advancement on the part of our country.'[1] 1874-77

In the *shōgwatsu* or new year's month of 1877 the Mikado visited Yokohama to review the Japanese squadron at anchor in the harbour. What attracted attention was the great lack of dignity in his suite. American ideas were then in fashion, and the white-cravatted, tall-hatted, black-coated throng that surrounded him, if they exemplified republican simplicity, offered a contrast to their silken *hakama* and *haori*-clothed two-sworded predecessors that was more strange than impressive. It was a period of transition, during which, as Mr Chamberlain amusingly shows in his *Things Japanese*,[2] both Government and society indulged in many odd freaks.

[1] *Japan Weekly Mail*, 1877, p. 983.

[2] See the article therein on Fashionable Crazes, 2nd ed. p. 52.

1874-77 In February 1877 the railway was opened between Hiogo, which had been a Treaty port for less than a decade, and Kioto, where less than a decade previously the descendant of the Sun-goddess had for the first time been seen by a foreigner. There was little ceremony, the pageantry of Old Japan had passed away for ever, and the stiff Germanized shows of the present day had not been invented. As Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps Sir Harry Parkes had the privilege of addressing His Majesty. The address is here given in full; Sir Harry's speeches were never conventional—for such indeed he had no talent—and are always worth reading, as they were worth hearing:—

Speech to the Mikado.

On the part of the Corps Diplomatique, I beg to express to your Majesty the sincere pleasure which it affords us to participate in the interesting ceremony of the opening of a new line of railway to the ancient capital of your Majesty's realm.

The invitation to be present on this occasion, with which your Majesty has graciously honoured us, furnishes an unmistakable sign of the friendship which marks your Majesty's relations with the Sovereigns and Presidents whom we have the honour to represent. But this is not the only meaning which that invitation conveys. It shows that your Majesty is sensible that a great industrial enterprise, which so nearly affects the welfare of so many of your Majesty's subjects, affects also the interests of the foreigners who are resident in this land, and who will always gladly join with your Majesty's people in promoting those works of industry and peace which contribute to the brotherhood of nations and to their mutual profit and prosperity.

In the case of the useful work now inaugurated by your Majesty, both native and foreign interests are so closely allied, that it is evident that our wishes for its success can scarcely be second to those which are entertained by your Majesty, your Government, and your people. Great difficulties attend the earlier construction of railway works in any country, and the way in which

these difficulties have been overcome in the present instance reflects high credit upon all concerned. But we may be permitted to add that the event of to-day marks an epoch in the history of Japan, for it furnishes a durable record of those new relations which she has established with the world ; it is a proof of her design to advance as other nations have advanced, and also of the intelligence and practical capacity of the people; and it shows how closely your Majesty identifies yourself with the interests of your people and how willingly your Majesty and your Government labour to promote the national progress of your people. 1874-77

These, may it please your Majesty, are the sentiments which animate my colleagues and myself in uniting with your loyal subjects in offering our congratulations on this occasion. Most cordially do we join your Majesty in wishing success to the Osaka, Kioto, and Hiogo Railway, and to all the efforts that may be made by your Majesty's Government to provide your country with such means of communication and transport, whether by rail or road, as may be best suited to its advancing requirements.

In Old Japan, although some official provision was made for sick and destitute persons, there appear to have existed no private charitable institutions whatever. The foundation during 1877 of the Society for the Promotion of Charitable Objects was therefore justly regarded by Sir Harry as a most hopeful sign of something beyond mere imitation of the West. Its prospectus was unfortunately of a too ambitious character, and the Society did not of itself effect much good, but it undoubtedly paved the way for the establishment of such noble institutions as the well-equipped Red Cross Hospital in Akasaka and the luxurious Charity Hospital in Shiba.

In April Yokohama was the scene of a singular adventure, to which I find a brief reference in Sir Harry Parkes' correspondence. The accountant and sub-accountant of the Yokohama branch of the Comptoir

1874-77 d'Escompte de Paris robbed the bank chest of 37,000 dollars in specie, and made their escape in a small schooner which, through the intervention of an accomplice, they had previously bought and equipped for the occasion. A steam launch was at once sent in pursuit with an armed party on board furnished with the necessary warrants. The vessel was soon overtaken, becalmed in Kaneda Bay. On perceiving that escape was impossible—but for the inopportune dropping of the wind the schooner probably would have got clear away—the two chief villains went below, and, driven to despair, blew their brains out in the cabin, while their accomplice leaped into the sea in the hope of swimming ashore. He was however captured and brought to trial, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment in the Hongkong gaol.

CHAPTER XXXV

PROGRESSIVE JAPAN

1878

1878
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DURING the last two years of Sir Harry Parkes' second term of service in Japan the Mikado's Government was chiefly occupied with preparations for a serious struggle on the Revision question. Faithful to the programme announced by Iwakura in his letter of credence to the American President,[1] Japan continued to acquire such portions of the civilization of the West as could be imported; but it must be remembered, what most writers on Japan and the Japanese themselves too often forget, that it is almost wholly to the teaching and counsel of a number of able foreign professors and practical men, chiefly but not exclusively of German, English, and American nationality, that Japan, far into the eighties at all events, owed most of the progress upon which her claim to international equality was based. She had not—and it could not be fairly expected that she should have—produced a single writer, jurist, or scientist who in Europe would have taken a noticeable place in the second rank, nor had she founded a single institution that was not, in essence, a mere mosaic formed of bits of various European and American models. Such a policy of pure imitation was necessary or at least inevitable, but it was carried out after a crude and so to speak ruthless fashion. The im-

[1] See *ante*, p. 180.

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pression made upon the foreigner was that Japan was more anxious to westernize her institutions than preserve her distinctive nationality. To teach the people to look with contempt on Old Japan was not a sure foundation on which to build up New Japan, as the Japanese have since fully recognized. To the strange vagaries into which this mania for things western led both Government and people reference has already been made. Perhaps the worst, certainly from a diplomatic point of view the most troublesome, feature of this period was the tendency of the Government, in part instigated by foreign advice, in part constrained by native forces difficult to estimate, to make mountains out of molehills, and pave the way for revision by creating troubles which merely gave rise to a series of technical squabbles. Sir Harry's available private correspondence now becomes abundant, and in the letters and extracts that follow references are not infrequent to instances of this proclivity on the part of the Japanese Government. The letters, among which are included a few written to him, afford besides a vivid picture of his life and work in Japan, and personal touches which will be welcome to many are not wanting.

Towards the close of 1877 Sir Harry had sent for his old Canton teacher Liu, who has been previously mentioned.[1] Liu remained at the Legation as general Chinese factotum until 1881. Sir Brooke Robertson wrote his old colleague an amusing letter on forwarding the old gentleman :—

From Sir D. B. Robertson Canton Jan. 19 1878

Thanks for yours and the draft for twenty dollars on account of advance to old Liu. I am happy to hear that venerable party has regained the use of his stomach, and is as well as can be expected. I did all I could for his comfort short of tucking him up in his berth, and I might have done that but for the necessity of returning to Canton. I received his letter, enclosing one for some one in Canton, which was duly delivered, and I now transmit one from sources unknown. I

[1] Vol. i. p. 337.

fancy the advent of a Minister [from Japan] would not be received with unmixed pleasure by his countrymen, to whom distance would lend enchantment to the view. To the Government the Formosa affair may be a boil in the back, but I've an impression it wishes to cultivate amicable relations with Japan, with a view towards Russia and her insidious advances, both feeling aggrieved by the action of the latter. 1878 ÆT. 50

Sir Harry's anxiety that the work of each individual officer should be duly recognized, already displayed in his despatches of 1865-1870, again appears in the subjoined extracts from letters to Consul Flowers, then of Nagasaki, which are besides typical of much of the Minister's public correspondence :—

To Consul Flowers April

. . . I am very much pleased with your Trade Report. I should like to know in how much of it you were aided by Gubbins, as I like to be acquainted with every officer's capacity for work. In the table at the commencement of the Report you mention a decrease in tea of 96,384 dollars, but when you proceed to describe the exports you say that tea export has increased to the extent of 445,700 dollars. How are these two statements to be reconciled? The varied information which the Report contains is very valuable and interesting. In a word it is a capital Report.

July 20

I have written to Gubbins telling him that I do not see my way to giving him leave this year, for I have no relief to send in his place. At the same time I recognize his claims to leave, which I consider he has well deserved, and I would be glad to meet his wishes as far as service considerations will permit.

I see that you also have home thoughts in mind, and you also merit leave, as you have been out nearly seven years, I believe. I will give my best consideration to any wish that you may form on the subject, but it would be useless for me to say anything about it until I know what I have to consider.

Among the multifarious matters that occupied the attention of the Minister few caused more trouble than

1878 ÆT. 50 passports, owing partly to the rigorous rules of the Japanese Foreign Office, partly to the remissness of applicants in observing them :—

July 30 Thank you for your considerate remarks in the matter of Mr. P.'s passport. The troubles caused by passports form one of these thorns of office that has to be endured with the best patience one can. I am constantly worried by men who think they have only to run up to the Legation and get their passport provided in five minutes ; whereas I have to send a special note to Terashima, and have now so often pleaded urgency that the latter complains. The Japanese officers are of course slower than they ought to be, but one cannot drive them beyond a certain point. At first Terashima stipulated or wanted to stipulate that he should have three days to consider each application ; and by constant labour I have succeeded in reducing this time to two or three hours. But in order to get a passport promptly, now that the Foreign Office closes at twelve, I have to send a messenger there at nine with instructions to wait and bring back the passport, which he generally does at noon. The Foreign Office is more than two miles from the Legation, so that the journey alone there and back takes an hour, and despatch depends on whether the Minister is in office or accessible. I hope Mr P. has given up his passport ; if not let me know promptly, if you can, where he is to be found at Yokohama, or he will be disappearing with it. I am greatly disposed to make a regulation obliging British subjects to deposit ten dollars as a guarantee for giving up the passport. It would add to our trouble, but so many instances have occurred of passports not being returned that I may find the Japanese Minister some day refusing to continue the system, unless we can assure the return of the passports, and thus all would suffer for the carelessness of the few.

Nov. 27 I have your note of the 21st inst. Kirby's case against the China Fire Insurance Company was an important

one, and doubtless gave you a great deal of anxious thought and study, but I don't altogether share your opinion that professional judges would make the best Consuls. It is not the interests of the few who choose to indulge in litigation that have chiefly to be considered but those of the many, who want their commerce protected and facilitated, their general well-being looked after, and their claims on, or relations with, the natives pressed and encouraged. 1878 ÆT. 50

It is certainly most desirable that a Consul should possess a knowledge of law and of the language, but both admit of being acquired by those who did not join the service as pioneers, and I think the Foreign Office set a higher value on knowledge of the language than on that of law. I don't think you need indulge in self-depreciation, or at all events be disturbed by not being proficient in law. Those who have the opportunity of acquiring both that and language should certainly do so, and it is as you say satisfactory to see that the rising men in the service are impressed with the necessity of doing so—but a professional judge could never know as much of the language, and that is as important to a Consul as law. Consuls by reading law may generally give fair and common-sense decisions, and if they happen to be in error on technical points they can be set right on appeal.

Between Sir Harry and his officers in Japan, though he worked them hard, the most kindly feelings existed, and his interest in all they did and saw was unbounded.

From E. M. Satow
Ashikura
Foot of
Tateyama
July 27

We have had on the whole very fair weather up to this point, and have seen some magnificent scenery, but owing to the difficult nature of the ground to be got over, we have taken much more time for the journey than we had calculated on before leaving Yedo. The new road over the mountains from Shinshiu into Hida is much longer than is usually given out, and passes over a couple of ridges not much less than 8000 feet above the sea. It goes from a place called Noguchi

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near Ōmachi in the north-west of Shiushiu, to some hot springs in Etchiu at the side of Tateyama, passes over the snow for at least a thousand feet, and is extremely steep up and down from the starting to the end. Horses cannot be taken over, and it is impassable even for oxen, except during the very few days when the snow melts altogether. We ascended Tateyama in a shower of rain the day before yesterday from the hot springs, and saw hardly anything, but in the afternoon it held up for a couple of hours to give us an opportunity of visiting the Solfataras, which are extremely curious. Innumerable circular pits, varying from two to twenty feet across, are in a constant state of ebullition, throwing up boiling water, black mud, and sulphur with intense energy which comes to nothing, as the stuff hurled into the air always falls back again. The noise of steam rushing through holes in the ground is almost deafening. . . . We passed the night at a substantial wooden house at the bottom of the main peak in the hope of having a fine morning for the final ascent, but when we awoke it was raining harder than ever and nothing was visible but mist. If we had held out there until the weather cleared up we might have had to wait a week, and so we came down here instead, by the worst path in the world, down rocky torrents full of rushing water, through paths a foot deep in mud, slush, and broken timber, through splendid cryptomeria forests and beech woods—a fatiguing walk of over eleven hours. To add to our ill-luck it rained nearly the whole day. . . . Part of our route has lain through a country where distances are measured only by guess-work, and concerning which it was impossible to obtain any information in Yedo. We have heard of an interesting community of people who inhabit a region called Ariminé[1] to the south of Tateyama, twenty miles from their nearest neighbours. They have intermarried for several centuries past—in

[1] See SATOW and HAWES' *Guide*, 2nd ed. p. 320.

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fact ever since they were heard of first, and live in patriarchal style—three or four married couples under one roof, but with separate households. Like other secluded communities they are said to be the descendants of the Heiké fugitives.[1] If we had a few days to spare, I should certainly have visited them in order to learn more with my own eyes and ears.

We found the Nakasendō being repaired everywhere for the passage of the Mikado, with whatever soil from cornfields, weed-covered earth from wayside banks, and pebbles from river beds were at hand—the new state of that road will be worse than the first. A new route has been made up the Usui pass,[2] which will be passable for his carriage upwards if they harness a double team to it, and will perhaps not be very dangerous to descend if all the wheels have a drag put on them.

With his colleagues the British Minister was on the most friendly terms. With many of them his correspondence did not end with his official relations. The extract given below is from a letter written by a former Dutch Minister to Japan—more than once Sir Harry had charge of Dutch interests—and further on will be found a long and most cordially-worded as well as interesting letter from the then German Minister at Peking, Herr von Brandt, who had been for many years Minister at Tokio :—

From M. Weckherlin
La Haye le 26 Août 1878

En vous expédiant aujourd'hui de nouveau le duplicata d'un billet-doux officiel, j'ai à vous demander pardon de vous importuner continuellement pour le traitement de Mr van der Polder.[3] Mon excuse est, comme pour le passé, que le Ministre des Aff. Étr. trouve de cette façon plus de facilité à faire liquider les dépenses dont il s'agit par la Cour des Comptes.

Quant aux affaires du Japon, ce n'est qu'à présent après la paix de Berlin que les Gouvernements euro-

[1] During the medieval civil war between the Hei and Gen factions.

[2] The celebrated Usui tōge or *col*, whence Yamato-daké cried *Azuma-ya!* 'Oh my wife!' after his lost spouse. SATOW and HAWES' *Guide*, 2nd ed. p. 229.

[3] Sécrétaire-Interprète of the Dutch Legation, afterwards Dutch Chargé d'Affaires.

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péens commencent à s'occuper un peu plus des propositions de Mr Terashima pour la revision des traités. D'après ce que j'apprends, cela marche comme nous l'avions prévu ; en général les Cabinets ne sont pas trop charmés des majorations du tarif qu'on désire introduire à Yedo. Plusieurs Gouvernements se sont adressés ici pour savoir ce que feraient les Pays-Bas. Pour ma part chaque fois que de la part du Ministre des Aff. Étr. l'on m'a causé de cette affaire, j'ai fait mon possible pour mettre en lumière qu'il vaut mieux renvoyer les négociations au Japon, au lieu de discuter ici avec les diplomates japonais résidant en Europe. J'ai insisté sur la désirabilité de cette voie la plus utile à suivre (à mon avis) parce qu'on me dit que Mr Naki de Berlin va aussi être accrédité à la Haye. . . .

En ce qui concerne ma personne je puis vous dire que je ne sais trop si je retournerai à Yokohama. J'ai demandé officiellement une autre destination, mais je n'ai pas encore de reponse, et tout reste en suspens. . . .

Mais je ne veux trop vous ennuyer avec mon babil. Presentez, je vous prie, mes respects les plus sincères à Lady Parkes, et croyez toujours, mon cher collègue, aux sentiments d'amitié cordiale. . . .

On the 14th May one of the numerous political murders that have stained the annals of New as they did those of Old Japan was perpetrated close to the castle.

To H. S. Wilkinson May 14

Okubo, the Minister of the Interior, was murdered this morning by a band of assassins who attacked him while on his way to the palace about nine o'clock ; dragged him from his carriage, and killed him. The only message I have yet received from the Foreign Office is vague, so I am going there myself to inquire of Terashima. I am afraid, however, that there is not a doubt that the assassins did their work effectually. It is very horrible. I presume it is Satsuma's revenge.[1]

[1] A sketch of Okubo's life will be found in the Appendix (C).

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The assassins, six in number, gave themselves up to the police. None of them, however, were Satsuma men. On one was found a document charging Okubo in the usual vague manner with various forms of mal-administration. It was alleged that the real cause of the murder was the notion that their victim had been concerned in a plot that had been formed against the life of Saigo Takamori, the leader of the Satsuma rebellion previously to the occurrence of that great struggle. But no proofs have ever been adduced of the truth of this rumour. The examinations of the assassins have not, it is believed, been made public; probably the crime was an expression of discontent on the part of men brooding over what appeared to them an utterly wrong condition of things, for which Okubo was responsible mainly as the chief figure of a Government in which they and theirs had neither place nor power. The murderers were all beheaded on the 27th July, reciting each some verses of poetry immediately before execution. Of their twenty-one accomplices, two of whom were women, all but five were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The funeral of the great Minister was the most imposing that had ever taken place in New Japan, and his loss threw a gloom over the whole country. As a special mark of consideration for his memory his eldest son was ennobled and presented with a pension.

The Quarantine question became the subject of troublesome discussions in 1878 and 1879, when Japan suffered from a visitation of cholera. Quarantine regulations had been drawn up in 1873 to meet an outbreak of the disease which was then feared. In 1877 some sporadic cases occurred. During the next two years the disease made great ravages, and some 80,000 Japanese fell victims to it. It was alleged—and the allegations were repeated in quarters where juster treatment might have been looked for—that the German and British Ministers in Japan resisted or obstructed the application of Quarantine Regulations which might greatly have reduced this

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mortality, and indignant letters were published in the *Times* on the subject, most of the assertions in which were in direct opposition to the facts. The controversy can only be glanced at here. The Japanese regulations were numerous and often contradictory. They were sometimes mere essays in draftsmanship proceeding from irresponsible foreign advisers entirely without experience in such matters. It was sought to enforce them without the concurrence of the Foreign Representatives—in fact almost the worst opportunity that could be chosen was seized for attempting to insert the thin end of the wedge of Japanese jurisdiction, in direct contravention of the Treaties of which it was the business of the Representatives to procure the observance. In addition, the recommendations of a Sanitary Commission that had been established, consisting of Japanese and foreign delegates and accepted by the Japanese Government itself, were altogether put aside. Sir Harry's part in the discussion — in connexion with which various very grave accusations utterly destitute of any foundation whatever were brought against British diplomacy—may be gathered from the following extracts[1] from his correspondence on the subject with Mr H. S. Wilkinson, to whose legal knowledge and sound judgment the British Minister constantly resorted in matters of this sort. The correspondence gives some idea of the tedious nature of the controversies that about this time were provoked by the Japanese Government on all sorts of subjects, with the object apparently of wearying the British Minister into compliance with their general foreign policy.

To H. S. Wilkinson June 18

I have no objection to your reading my despatch to you about the Quarantine Regulations at the Consular meeting on Thursday. I suggested to-day to De Geofroy, who has found out that the new Regulations are very different to the old ones of

[1] See also p. 277. In a letter to the *London and China Telegraph* of 1st November 1879, the history of the whole matter is concisely stated.

1873, that he should write to Pierret in order that he might be prepared for Thursday's meeting, and I have also written to Van Ordt officially and sent him a copy of the new Regulations. It has also seemed to me desirable to write to Poland,[1] and I enclose you my despatch. Please forward it after perusal. You will see that I have suggested that he should place himself in communication with you. 1878 ÆT. 50

The most important points in the new Regulations are left very ill-defined. Who is to declare quarantine necessary, and to determine when it may be discontinued? What are the powers of the Quarantine Commission, and are the Consuls to have the same power as the Kenrei or only to act as his assessors? What are to be the powers of the Health Officers, and how are these powers to be given them? etc. etc. etc.

It may be well to bear in mind the idea—a false one—which is generally prevalent that we, the British, wish to obstruct the Japanese in enforcing necessary rules and regulations—as in shooting, etc. Of course it is not so—the simple fact being that the Japanese are wholly unable to enforce rules with penalties on British subjects without our aid. But it is difficult to disabuse men's minds of *idées fixes*. June 20

The principal point requiring consideration in these new rules appears to me to be the constitution and powers of the Quarantine Commission. If that were properly constituted, the working out of details under the authority of that Commission would be simple enough. But on this point the new rules are very imperfect and indefinite.

At Constantinople I see there is a 'Superior Board of Health,' at which all the Embassies are represented by delegates, and that Superior Board of Health, I believe, has much to say in all quarantine matters.

The Foreign Representatives met at my Legation July 4

[1] Captain Poland, R.N., then senior officer at Yokohama.

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yesterday to discuss Quarantine Regulations, and we were all fairly agreed in our opinions on the subject with the exception of Mr Bingham,[1] who argued so strongly, loudly, and discourteously in favour of the *Revised* Regulations, and was so entirely prepared to *explain* any questionable point—notably Articles 2 and 16, to which, indeed, the discussion was mainly confined—that I feel he must have been privy to the composition of those articles, even if he did not compose them himself.

We must now proceed to offer our suggestions to Terashima and I must take the initiative in preparing the counter proposals. I strongly feel the necessity of consulting with you, whether as Consul or Law Secretary or both.

Aug. 26

At about 2.30 this afternoon Terashima sent me the new Regulations of the Quarantine Commission, and requested me 'in a friendly way' to give him my advice or suggestions on them by to-morrow morning, as he is obliged to place them before the Daijōkwan on Wednesday morning. With difficulty I have had a copy made and enclose for you to look at. Could you do this and return it to me with your suggestions by quarter past eight train to-morrow morning.

I have hurriedly perused these Regulations, which appear to me fair in a general and from a medical point of view, but of course they must be minutely examined before we accept them. What will be wanting in our case will be that the Japanese Government should ask me to consent to their being applied to British ships, and to do this I must make my regulations also. I shall tell Mr Terashima that unless my consent to their application to British ships is formally requested and given, British ships cannot be subjected to them.

Pray write in the margin of this copy, or elsewhere, any corrections in wording, etc., that occur to you.

[1] United States' Minister.

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The coal-dues question was another instance of the childish malevolence exhibited in certain American criticisms of British diplomacy in Japan. It was alleged that Sir Harry Parkes by his action with respect to the export duties on coal had wrongfully caused a loss to the Japanese Government of scores of thousands of pounds. The facts and their explanations, taken from a letter to Mr Wilkinson, dated 23rd November 1878, are quite simple. An export duty was levied on native coal, but supplies taken on board for ship's use were duty free. The Nagasaki custom-house tried nevertheless to make every ship that took coal on board, whether for use or export, pay duty. To meet the difficulty, which was a real one, it was agreed between the Japanese Government and the British Minister, by an exchange of notes—an informal method, it is true, but the agreement was never on any occasion objected to by the Japanese—that coals put on board steamers should be free (as manifestly for ship's use), and coals put on board sailing ships should pay duty. At the time and long afterwards steamers were not used as colliers, freights being too high. At a later period they were so used, but no new arrangement was proposed by the Japanese Government, which could not but have been aware of the change of practice; and the agreement continued in force and was acted on for a series of years. In this way, no doubt, coal cargoes that but for the agreement would have paid duty, paid none. But the Japanese authorities knew this quite well, and probably did not object because they desired to encourage the export of Japanese coal, the restriction of which by a duty would have resulted in an infinitely greater loss to the country than any gain that could have accrued from a return to the original system.

The following letter refers to a mutiny which caused great alarm to the Government, the measure of which was the severe punishment inflicted upon the mutineers, some fifty or sixty of whom were condemned to death and shot down in batches :—

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To W. G. Aston
Sept. 3

. . . I have often feared trouble among the soldiers of the Japanese army, and this has now occurred. You know the situation of the barracks of the Imperial Guard just within the moat opposite our Legation. Three thousand infantry of the Guard and 300 artillery are stationed there. The artillery rose on the night of the 23rd, murdered their three officers—Major, Captain, and Lieutenant,—who tried to quiet them, and then began to fire at the infantry, who had refused to join them. Strange confusion occurred which lasted for about four hours. About a hundred of the artillery got out of the Honzō gate [close to H.M.'s Legation] and 'went for' the Mikado, but on arriving at the Palace they were overpowered, and surrendered. Bullets flew thickly over the Legation and over a wide range of the town. Okuma's house and Yamagata's house—both near the moat—were repeatedly struck. We were left to ourselves until it was all over, when it occurred to Sanjō to send and inquire how we had fared. All the Japanese Ministers assembled at the Palace, and several reached it in various forms of disguise. Eventually the artillery-men were nearly all captured, and the casualties on both sides amounted only to thirty, though cartridges enough were fired to have killed thousands. A long inquiry is being held, which implicates officers as well as men and other corps besides the Guard. It is a bad business when mutiny breaks out in such an ill-disciplined army as that of Japan.

At the close of 1878 Sir Harry was inclined to take a somewhat unfavourable view of the progress made by Japan towards establishing her claim to international equality.

To H. S. Wilkinson
Kobé
Dec. 2

You are certainly the most painstaking man I know, and your opinions, which are stated so fully and so clearly, are very valuable to me. When I see so many pages covered with your perfect handwriting, I am very sensible of the trouble you have taken, and feel also how much I have imposed upon you.

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I enclose you a translation from the semi-official organ the *Nichi-Nichi Shimbun*—which appearing in *that* quarter will perhaps astonish you as it did me. Here you have a Japanese ally of the Government proving their unfitness for the claims they make to the attainment of a high degree of civilization and the unsuitability to the wants of the people of the laws they are engaged in manufacturing.

It was not easy indeed to take a very hopeful view as the close of the year drew nigh. The condition of Japan was becoming desperate, commerce was at its lowest, all kinds of property were enormously depreciated in value, the country was flooded with inconvertible paper, and the pressure of party politics compelled the Government to assume an attitude of distrust towards foreigners, exhibited occasionally in petty acts that almost savoured of peevishness, and were made more disagreeable by a sort of arrogance that was new, and, one is glad to say, short-lived.

To W. Lockhart
Yedo
Nov. 25

Ere this reaches you I trust Fanny will have reached England and that you will have seen her. She was not robust when she left me, but I hope the change will do her good. She will form her plans after she arrives at home, where the responsibility of all the children will give her ample care and occupation. Her departure reduces me to a desolate condition, which will oblige me to follow her at no distant date. It may be necessary that I should hold on for another year, but not longer I think.

I quite agree with your estimate of Japan. It is an uncertain country. . . . I hope the Japanese craze at home will soon pass away, and that the Japanese will see that their real value is better appreciated than it was.

CHAPTER XXXVI

CORRESPONDENCE

1878–1879

1878 Æt. 50

LADY PARKES left Japan on 5th November 1878, not on account of ill-health, but to make a home for her children in England. A ball was given in her honour by the English residents in Tokio, at which many of the members of the Japanese Cabinet, including Sanjō the Prime Minister, were present, together with most of the Foreign Representatives and several Japanese ladies of high rank—the first occasion, it is believed, of a foreign entertainment being so honoured. On 1st November another ball was given by the residents of Yokohama, at which the late General Van Buren, then U.S. Consul-General, whom old residents in Yokohama will always hold in pleasantest memory, spoke of the British Minister in terms of high eulogium. Lady Parkes' departure was deeply regretted by the whole foreign community, whose warm regard she had won by the charm of her manner and the sincerity of her friendship, above all by the ready aid and comfort a sweet and gentle nature prompted her to offer to all who stood in need of human sympathy and consolation. In Japanese society she was scarcely less popular, as her husband was able to assure her in one of his earliest letters after their separation. That separation, alas, was final so far as this world is concerned. To Sir Harry Parkes his wife's absence was always a

great sorrow, and he sought comfort as usual in a continuous correspondence, from such parts of which as may happily be made public a fairly full record may be gleaned of his life and work up to his sudden return home in the following year. Such few elucidations as may be necessary will be most conveniently given as they are required. 1878 Æt. 50

To his Wife Yedo Nov. 24 1878

Mr Glover particularly pleased me by calling to tell how greatly you were appreciated by all your Japanese acquaintances—male and female. Several of these had spontaneously observed to him how much you had done to take them by the hand and to bring them into your own society and that of foreigners. No other foreign lady, they said, had ever made similar endeavours, and they recognized that your efforts were attributable altogether to your own kind feeling, and were something altogether apart from official observances, and were not done for public effect. They distinguished clearly between my work and yours: the former was due to the position, while yours was attributable to the impulse of a kind heart, and to your desire to assist them and bring them forward and make foreign intercourse agreeable to them. He mentioned Mrs Kawamura and Mrs Sanjō as having spoken in this strain, and said that they only represented the feelings of many other Japanese. I confess that this gave me more pleasure than anything I have heard of, and it should prove to you that you have not laboured in vain. It shows that one may do good without knowing it or knowing that our efforts are appreciated, and that we should work for good's sake without being discouraged because we do not meet with immediate approval or reap some open return by way of encouragement.

I am sorry to hear that the Chinese Minister to Russia—Chung-how—was represented to you as disagreeable, and I hope he may turn out better than he was described, but doubtless his staff will not exhibit

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the good manners of the Japanese. I knew him long long ago, as early as 1860, and I thought his manners then were superior to those of other Chinese mandarins. He was in England at the time we arrived there in 1871, but I could not accept an invitation to see him because it came on the afternoon of the day previous to our departure for Scotland.

Yedo Dec. 12

Korea does interest me, as you know, and I have just had communications with some of the Korean officials in their own country. I determined to send Satow there to thank them for the great kindness they had shown to the shipwrecked crew of an English ship, and to learn what he could at the same time. He went first to Quelpart Island and then to Fusan—the port open to Japanese trade—in H.M.S. *Egeria*, Captain Douglas' ship. The minor officials treated Satow courteously and with much good nature, but they would not let him go inland to see the higher officials—alleging that their laws did not permit them to do so. However, the visit so far as it went can only leave good impressions, and, as no harm has come of it, I presume the Government at home will approve of my having sent the *Egeria*. Old Liu went with Satow and did good service. The Japanese relations with Korea are not very smooth just now in consequence of the Koreans having placed duties on Japanese trade, which has hitherto been free. To this the Japanese Government greatly object, saying that duties will stop trade, although the action of the Koreans is identical with that which the Japanese Government wish to adopt in respect to foreign trade—the only difference being that the duties they wish to impose are *higher* than those which they complain of in the case of the Koreans. . . .

Russell[1] is a great comfort to me, and I shall be

[1] Mr T. R. M'Clatchie, Sir Harry's nephew, a valued contributor to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, and author of an amusing volume of Japanese stories in verse. He died on his way home, 23rd February 1886.

very sorry when he leaves me at the end of the month. He has distinguished himself by an able speech at St. Andrew's Dinner on the 30th ult., which I had to attend, and where Russell had to give the toast of the bards and authors of Scotland, owing to the person who had undertaken this toast having broken down only the evening before the dinner. Russell had only an hour or two at night to think over what he should say, and yet he reviewed Scotch poetry and literature with considerable ability and used very excellent and eloquent language. It was altogether the speech of the evening. Then the day before yesterday he read his paper on the Yashikis of Yedo, which also was very good. 1878 Æt. 50

Again on the 10th we had an amateur theatrical performance and I went to that also. I had a good laugh. The pieces were 'Not a bad Judge,' in which Bayne played well and knew his part, and 'Whitebait at Greenwich,' in which Mr Mitchell was inimitable.

First of all I may as well mention that I have just said good-bye to Miss Bird. She has been with me ten days. . . . She is always very entertaining when she imparts some of her large store of information, and has expressed herself most grateful for all the assistance rendered her. She has written to you, and I enclose her note, and two to me. She says she thinks I am looking much better than when she was last here—which will comfort you. Yedo Dec. 18

Lord Salisbury has taken a very satisfactory position in respect to the Treaty revision question. He declines to entertain the Japanese proposals in the vague form in which they submitted them and tells the Japanese Minister in London that his Government must name specifically the amendments they wish to introduce into the Treaty, and in naming them must give twelve months' notice of revision as stipulated in the Treaty. Yedo Dec. 24

This reply may send the Japanese into the sulks

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and determine them to do nothing more for the time, or they may proceed to name the amendments they desire, which will probably take them a few months,—after which another year must elapse before they can be discussed.

On the 19th Mr Bellasis was married at the Legation to Miss Strickland, and I tried to imitate the pretty arrangements you made on such occasions. Yoné found the old lace shawl and made a pretty altar decorated with flowers. Mrs Dickins and Mrs Masfen accompanied the bride, who was married in travelling dress. I had to give her away and I am afraid I made a mistake by putting Bellasis on the *left* side when they stood up. However the position I assigned the lady on the *right* was typical of woman's proper place in matrimony, as indeed on all occasions. The breakfast was at the Dickins', after which Bellasis took his bride to his own home — which he found locked and he had to force his way in through the window to open the door. I suppose the servants were away at the Dickins'. The bride must have had rather a cold reception in her own house.

Yedo Jan. 5 1879

Yesterday there was an Asiatic meeting. Dr Syle becomes President in the place of Dr Murray. Old Miss Johnson was there with Mrs Houghton, and she spoke so affectionately of you, as the friend of all strangers, and of every one who needed help. Mr Reed, C.B., M.P., the late constructor of our navy—who built the three new ships for the Japanese — is now here, the guest of the Japanese Government, who are making a great fuss about him. It remains to be seen what each wants from the other, but I doubt whether Japanese finances will permit of their giving Mr Reed fresh orders for more ships. They have as many as their means will justify.

The Americans have made a Treaty with Japan—such a Treaty! but they have protected themselves from its consequences by stipulating that it is not to

take effect until other nations agree to a similar Treaty, which we, for one, are certainly not likely to do. They would throw themselves by it entirely into the hands of the Japanese. The object of the Americans is of course transparent — they wish to lead the Japanese to believe that they are willing to meet their wishes, and if unable to do so, it is because other nations, notably England and H. S. P., won't enable them to do so. 1879 ÆT. 50

Since the 31st we have had quiet times—as far as New Year will allow of such, and what is better splendidly clear frosty sunshiny weather. I never saw a finer or so fine a New Year in Japan. Quite a fortnight of brilliant sunshine, but to-day clouds are gathering, and I suppose we may any day see snow. Our reception by the Mikado on the 1st passed off well and the Yokohama diplomats lunched with me as usual. I made some calls in the afternoon and had a dinner at the Legation—all the staff, Rennie (who is Judge of the new Court established at Yokohama, in place of the Consular Court), Wilkinson, etc., etc. On 2nd and 3rd I ran down in the afternoons to Yokohama and dropped a number of cards. On the 3rd the Mayor of Tokio with the leading Japanese bankers, merchants, members of the new Municipal Assembly, etc., etc., gave an entertainment and invited all the Japanese Ministers, Foreign Ministers, Consuls, and many of the people of Yokohama. It was rather a mixed crowd, but it passed off fairly, and was interesting as the first attempt of the rising mercantile and popular class to assert a social position. Iwakura and Sanjō were there, and a midnight train carried back the Yokohama guests. But there were no ladies. That may be attempted the next time, the difficulty being to get a Japanese lady qualified to take the lead on the occasion. Yedo Jan. 11

I shall look anxiously for the next English mail— due in about ten days, to learn what course Lord Yedo Jan. 29

1879 Æt. 50

Salisbury is going to take respecting the Treaty revision. Mr Kennedy's note leads me to think that it will be undertaken at home and that my presence may be required. It would detract greatly from all our comfort if I had such a work on hand when I come home. It would be no holiday under such circumstances, and work at home is more annoying and more inconvenient than work here.

Yedo Feb. 5

However, what I am thinking much more of just now is a telegram I received this afternoon from Lord Salisbury telling me to leave for England as soon as possible after Kennedy arrives, which may be on the 16th. As far as I can at present calculate I think my best opportunity will be *viâ* America on the 4th March, which would enable me to arrive in England on *10th April!* I shall come there to work, to join in a Conference relative to the Japan Treaty—which I shall not like.

Yedo Feb. 14

I am called home to assist in a Conference for the revision of the Treaty, but in consequence of what has occurred during the last two days I have some doubts whether the Conference will come off. The German Government telegraphed to Gutschmid[1] [to request the Japanese Government] to send powers to their Representative [in Berlin] to discuss and agree at the Conference to a new Tariff. After two days' consideration the Government have declined to do this, and Gutschmid telegraphed the refusal to his Government yesterday. I also wired a message to Lord Salisbury on Gutschmid's information, as I have had nothing to do with his communications with Terashima. It would be useless for the Treaty Powers to engage in a Conference unless they did discuss the Tariff, and if the Japanese won't discuss the Tariff there is no use holding a Conference. This obstructiveness on the part of the Japanese is the outcome of the new American Treaty. The Americans have agreed to give them all they want, *but* under the condition that all other Powers do the

[1] German Chargé d'Affaires.

same. Of course the Americans acted very falsely in making such a Treaty, as they knew well that all the other Powers would not agree to it, and therefore that they might make themselves agreeable to the Japanese without incurring any risk. . . . But the Japanese, in the face of their Treaty with America, which gives them *carte-blanche* as to their Tariff, have naturally a difficulty in agreeing with the other Powers to fix a Tariff and bind themselves to it by Treaty, which would be quite the reverse of their agreement with America. There appears to me therefore to be every likelihood of things coming to a dead-lock: perhaps the Japanese will break off negotiating for a time until they have convinced themselves that their American alliance has done them no good. But whether there be a Conference or not, I think it would be desirable that I should come home in order that I may thoroughly understand the views of our Government and also learn how the Japanese are pulling the strings in England and Europe. 1879 ÆT. 51

I continue in a very unsettled condition. Lord Salisbury telegraphed to me on the 17th February to defer my departure until 'the point' is cleared up, and I have not since heard further from him about my going. I am not yet fully informed about what has taken place in London, and can only form my conjectures from the brief telegraphs I have received and from those received by Gutschmid from the German Government. . . . It came out that the Japanese claim, *not* a revision of the Treaty and Tariff (which latter is the most important part of the Treaty), but the total abolition of the Tariff by commercial articles of the Treaty, with full liberty to impose what duties on foreign commerce might please them. That they would make such demands might have been foreseen from the papers which went home this time last year, and I don't suppose either our Government or several of the other Governments would agree to them for a moment. They now, however, have again been told by me and Gutschmid that March 2

1879 Æt. 51

these are the Japanese demands, and I doubt whether the Conference will now come off. Indeed Gutschmid has received a private telegram that Eisendecker[1] leaves Marseilles on the 9th inst., and as he was to have attended this Conference on the part of Germany his departure looks as if the Conference had been given up. My feelings are of a very mixed kind. I should have been glad to find myself on my way home in order that I might rejoin you and the children and embrace you both warmly, and yet I should have been sorry to have to take part in a Conference and see my Government taking part in one which must have proved a failure. What the next step will be I cannot foresee. My own opinion is that the Government at home should tell the Japanese Government to place before the Representatives of the former at Yedo the amendments which the latter propose to introduce into the Treaty, in order that they may be considered and reported upon for the decision of the Home Government. The object of the Japanese Government is to divide us and to negotiate with each separately, as they have already done with America, while ours on the other hand should be to endeavour to secure general co-operation. My departure from Yedo just now would promote the objects of the Japanese, unless I left for only a short interval in order to confer with and receive instructions from Lord Salisbury. However, it is little use my speculating on what is going to occur, as some decision must be taken at once and perhaps has already been taken by Lord Salisbury.

Yedo April 2

I have received a telegram to-day from Lord Salisbury saying that the scheme of the London Conference is abandoned and that the revision of the Treaty must take place in Yedo. So that a year and a half have been lost by the Japanese to no purpose by passing over the Foreign Ministers here and making their proposals in Europe. They are obliged to come back to us after all.

[1] German Minister to Japan.

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ÆT. 51

Yedo
April 10

They (the Home Government) have made a thorough failure of their attempt to conduct Japanese negotiations in London, and this ought to make them disposed to consider my difficulties. Lord Salisbury has apprised me by telegram in the briefest form that 'negotiations are to take place in Yedo,' and I must await despatches, which will be six weeks more on their way before I learn what I have to do.

The Naval Mission are going to leave very shortly. Their engagements continue till the end of July and some of the subordinate officers even till November, but the Japanese Government have offered to pay them up in full if they go at once, and they naturally accept the offer. They will therefore be off in the course of this month.

Mr Reed, C.B., M.P., after a stay of nearly three months in Japan, leaves to-morrow. I have not seen much of him. . . . If he expected to get more orders for ships from the Japanese he has been disappointed, as they have no money to spend on such luxuries. He told me that he found that the only expenditure needed by the Japanese was *brains*. The Japanese Government, however, have made an immense fuss about him, fêting him day after day.

Yedo
May 23

I am at present in a state of agony, as I found I could not well get out of giving a ball on the Queen's Birthday, and have accordingly taken the plunge and issued invitations for the 30th, the same date as your last ball. It will come off just this day week, and thus I have seven days and nights of unhappy tension of mind before me. The next American mail will leave on the 31st, and then, if I live through it, I shall have the happiness of telling you that it is over. In issuing the invitations I was guided greatly by your last list, and as usual every reply I receive is an acceptance. I thus foresee that I shall have more than two hundred guests. It is truly a severe ordeal, but as soon as it is over I shall rush into the country somewhere—it matters little where.

1879
Æt. 51

Old Rags[1] I fancy feels the advance of Time somewhat in the way that I do. He is losing his activity and getting very fat. I am afraid he picks up things in the kitchen, which is very wrong, as he seldom seems to care for his dinner. His repugnance to being washed increases if possible, and he can achieve very little in the way of running after the carriage. Still he maintains his gentlemanly character, and is universally respected for his good manners as well as for being the dog of the house. I am afraid he will be too old to bring home by the time I come. I am going to have him clipped very soon as he feels the heat greatly.

Yedo
May 30

The less I write by this opportunity the better, as I am suffering great annoyance. I am giving to-day my Queen's Birthday Ball. I had worked hard at my arrangements, which of course I had to do entirely by myself, for several days, and at noon to-day I had the satisfaction of feeling that everything was fairly complete. As Prince Henry of Prussia, the Queen's grandson, son of our Crown Princess, had arrived and had accepted my invitation, I felt that my arrangements should be rather more extensive than usual, as so many guests wished to be present. I have 250 acceptances.

I constructed a large pavilion on the lawn which I depended on as the supper-room, and another pavilion for the band. The day broke as fairly as could be desired, but at twelve it began to rain, and is falling in torrents. The place is deluged—pavilions thoroughly soaked and I am in despair. Doubtless a good many of the Yokohama guests will be deterred from coming, but the 150 Tokio guests will probably make an effort to do so. But I really don't know what to do, as I have no accommodation *in* the house either for the band or supper—the verandahs being already fully occupied, as the only sitting-room I have to offer. It is no use crying over spilt milk, and I must bear the disaster as I best can. It is now four o'clock and the house in a

[1] A Scotch terrier—a well-known denizen of the Legation.

state of the direst confusion—new mats covered with mud, flowers coming in soaking wet, confectionery from the Frenchman at Yokohama in a state of pulp, and everything about as bad as it can be. Instead of having a quiet afternoon as I had expected, I must now do what I can to save the wreck. I had been obliged to trust to the verandahs for all my sitting room, and they are flooded—flags and decorations soaking and everything draggled and stained. A disaster, however, that cannot be helped may be better borne than one which one has oneself contributed to. 1879 ÆT. 51

Prince Henry is a very nice young boy of seventeen. On board ship he attends to his middy's duties just like other midshipmen. The Mikado has put him up in the Summer Palace [Hama-Goten] by the shore, and is giving him a very good reception. The formalities consequent on his arrival have taken up much of my time. He treats me very cordially, and I have dined with him on both of the two evenings that he has yet spent in Yedo.

Tomioka June 10

You may remember that this [Tomioka] is the little seaside place near to Yokohama where some of the Yedo ladies and families come to spend short holidays. Dr Anderson[1] brought me down here on the 6th, and I return to Yedo this evening. The change was rendered necessary by a sudden attack of a curious form of neuralgia in the muscles of the stomach, which gave me great pain and soon exhausted my strength.

I felt he was right, as my weakness is painfully palpable to myself, and I never felt strength come back so slowly. I shall not fail, therefore, to turn the warning to account, and shall finish off one or two things that press and then take a fortnight's complete holiday in the country. It is only head-work or worry of mind that exhausts me, and the pain is then apt to return.

[1] William Anderson, F.R.C.S, now Professor of Anatomy to the Royal Academy. He is the author of *The Pictorial Arts of Japan*, the standard work on that attractive subject, and President of the Anglo-Japanese Society.

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I have not mentioned my Queen's Birthday party. About half of my Yokohama guests and three-fourths of my Yedo guests, 170 in all out of 260 invitations, came despite of the foul weather. It was as well that no more came, as we were confined to the rooms, all my arrangements respecting the verandahs and pavilion (which was much more solidly constructed—with roof —than the one of last year) having failed. But the guests determined to enjoy themselves, and did so, and thereby relieved the bad humour in which I commenced the evening. Prince Henry came and stayed a short time, but did not dance. He only received on his arrival at Yokohama the letters about his brother's death, some of the incidents of which were very touching. Eisendecker waited at the palace on a Tuesday to receive the letters of the Crown Prince and Crown Princess. He saw them both, and the latter told him that Waldemar [1] was indisposed, but nothing serious. In the course of that night diphtheria (that dreadful disease as we know too well) declared itself. The physicians had reported all well at 9 P.M., and at 3 A.M. of Wednesday realized that diphtheria was present. The Crown Princess on hearing of this at daylight of Wednesday rushed to the sick boy's room to embrace him, but the doctors, remembering Princess Alice's fate, held her back by main force, but on her entreaty allowed her to approach the bed and kiss *his feet*. He died on Wednesday afternoon, and a fresh packet of letters had to be written and given to Eisendecker, who left Marseilles on the following Saturday. The last words Prince Waldemar spoke were, 'Good-night, dear papa and mamma,' in English. I like young Prince Henry very much—he is so unaffected; speaks English with an accent, but very well; he is seventeen years old; he always addresses me in conversation as 'sir.'

Yedo June 20

Prince Henry of Prussia is now quietly on board his ship. To-day being the anniversary of the Queen's

[1] Prince Henry's brother.

accession he sent me this cordial telegram, 'On this day's anniversary I join you in very best wishes for your Sovereign. Long live the Queen!' 1879 ÆT. 51

To which I replied by wire, 'I respectfully thank your Royal Highness for your cordial message, and deeply appreciate your remembrance of an event which has given forty-two years of happiness to my country.'

I am just starting to join the Admiral at Yokohama. He very kindly offered to give me a trip to Hakodaté and back, to take only ten days, which I gladly accepted. It will save me the preliminary fatigue of travel in the country, and when I come back I will try the latter. I have been very weak for some time past and found it most difficult to get through my work or stand any excitement. This little spell of rest and fresh air will set me up again, and at the close of July I will take a fortnight at Asamayama. Yedo June 28

I left for Hakodaté, as I told you I was going to do when I last wrote, on the 28th ult., and returned here on the 8th. We had a pleasant ten days' cruise—not that I saw anything new or attractive, but I got ten days' fresh air and change and rest from work, which did me a great deal of good, and I have come back much invigorated. It is as well that it is so, as I have had a bad week since I returned in the way of anxious business and plenty of it. Yedo July 16

I had scarcely turned my back when the Japanese Government, owing to an alarm of cholera at Osaka, became excited and made all sorts of impossible quarantine regulations[1] to which they expected foreign ships to submit. I could do nothing by telegraph, and should therefore have come back even if I had not already arranged with the Admiral to be only ten days absent. The other Ministers also did nothing because they awaited my return. We have been busy since I came back, and the Japanese Government have had to rescind

[1] See above, p. 257-260.

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the regulations they made in my absence and issue new ones. . . .

The work is not over yet, but I have made good way in righting matters, though at the cost of much labour. I had to write a long despatch, which was read at a Cabinet Council and was admitted, as one of the members told me, to be unanswerable.

Dr Anderson was not pleased to see me back, and says I must go off again somewhere, and he thinks land better than sea. I promised to take the Admiral to Nikkō, but was obliged to give it up in consequence of the work in which I am involved, and he has gone off to Miyanoshta.

General Grant is here and is turning the Japanese heads, and Hennessy[1] is helping to do so as much as he can. He dodges me, and now I am back, he is off to Hakodaté.

Yedo July 18

We have our hot weather on us, and at the close of the day, when one is exhausted with having worked from seven to seven amid stinging insects, perspiration, and fatigue, it is not easy to write at all. What I want chiefly to say is that I have some reason to think that the Government may yet wish me to come home.

I must now stop. I enclose a letter from Mrs Hepburn which I have no doubt will give you some local gossip, and I send the last [Japan] *Punch* for your amusement. The sketch of me up to my neck *in ink* correctly describes my situation, though the *Tokio Times* does not put me in it.

Yedo July 28

Your last letter is June 5th. It reported no material improvement in your health, and it grieved me to hear that you still only live on slops and go about in a Bath chair. It is sad to think that you should be reduced to such a state of weakness—you who have been so active throughout your life and have performed such feats of travel, endurance, and constant labour. But I trust

[1] The late Sir John Pope Hennessy, then Governor of Hongkong, about whom there is but one opinion in the colonies.

that there will be a turn ere long to this lane of affliction and that you will be able to send me better accounts. 1879 ÆT. 51

I can say nothing definite about my probable movements. A cholera scare and the advent of General Grant have so engrossed the attention of the Japanese that the question of the revision makes no way. Our Government, however, has demanded that the Japanese Government make their proposals in a practical form, which they have not yet done. These proposals when made will have to be sent home for consideration, and in sending them home I shall suggest that I should come home to confer with Lord Salisbury as to how they are to be dealt with.

We are very dull here and very hot. The Grant entertainments recommenced on his return from Nikkō, and Prince Arisugawa gave an evening party in the Mikado's pavilion gardens on the beach which went off fairly, though the fireworks were nothing particular. I attended and met, besides the Grants and of course the Hennessys, a crowd of all the foreigners in the employ of the Government and a medley collection of Japanese. I think I told you that the Uyenos had returned from London. They were there and she dresses in foreign dress very nicely. On the 2nd I at last dined the Hennessys—not too soon, as they went away the next day. I asked to meet them their hosts Mr and Mrs and Miss Inouyé, the Uyenos, Andersons, Rennie, Saumarez, Brinkley, and Satow. He (Hennessy) would do better if he had less life. I had to have an explanation with him in consequence of the way in which he has been talking among the Japanese and foreigners. I told him that if I had visited Hongkong, I should not have presumed to interfere with his business in the same way as he had done with mine, and much other plain language, for I wished him to know my mind. He defended himself but faintly, saying that he had been misrepresented, which, however, I know is not the case. I don't think he is accustomed to get a good setting Yedo Aug. 12

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down from any one, and I think I gave him one. We managed, notwithstanding, to part apparent friends, though he is a man with whom I should never be on good terms, as I utterly mistrust him.

The Grants leave on the 26th for America, but we may now expect on any day the Duke of Genoa in the Italian man of war *Vittor Pisani*, which he commands. I shall not give him a ball on this occasion, as I did in 1874.

Yedo Sept. 2

The next step in the work of revision is for the Japanese to make their proposals, and this they have not yet done. They have been so much taken up with General Grant that they have not attended to the work of revision, perhaps they think that through his assistance they may in some undefined way or other gain their ends. The *Tokio Times* announces the formation of a Society called 'Friends of the East,' of which General Grant and Mr Pope Hennessy are to be distinguished members. Mr Reed, M.P., of course will be another one, and probably Sir Charles Dilke, etc., etc. General Grant leaves to-morrow morning, and perhaps after the Japanese Ministers have breathed a little they will remember the question of revision. As soon as they make any proposals I shall propose to my Government to come home in order that I may ascertain the views of the Government as to Japanese questions and future policy. I have to go to-night to a parting fête given him at Hama-Goten. The Minister for Foreign Affairs invites the guests and there are to be fireworks. As the day is very fine, it will probably go off well. A week ago a fête was given at Uyeno nominally by the people of Yedo to the Mikado. It was first intended to be given to General Grant, and the managers, as a second thought, invited the Mikado, who declined on the ground of the prevalence of cholera. The subject then dropped, but was revived later in better form—the Mikado being invited first and then General Grant. It went off very well on the whole, though the day was

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too hot for complete enjoyment, and a good deal of time was lost or spent unprofitably. Many of the community of Yokohama were invited, and I gave lunch to sixteen of them. The entertainment consisted chiefly in a revival of old games, in which the Japanese took part in their ancient costume, which looked very well.

Colonel Smart, who has been with me for nearly three weeks, leaves me to-morrow. Miss Gordon Cumming left me two days ago, as she goes on by to-morrow's steamer to San Francisco. I am afraid guests who are staying in the house find it very dull in your absence, as I keep in the office throughout the day.

To H. S. Wilkinson March 1

I wrote privately to Ito on my return last evening about the two boxes for old Webb and he sent me the enclosed reply, on which I telegraphed to you this morning at half-past seven, so I hope the boxes will go.

At nine o'clock I sent in an application for Snow's passport and a request that he also might receive permission to go in the Bonin steamer.

'Old Webb' was the only man in the Bonin Islands who could read or write at the time of Consul Robertson's visit, in 1876, from whose interesting account[1] of them and of the strange society he found there a few particulars may be extracted. The islands, which form a small archipelago divided into a northern, southern, and middle group, lie some 500 miles due south of Yokohama, and were known to the Spanish navigators of the sixteenth century, who appear to have given them the name Islas del Arzobispo. In 1593 they—or at least the southern group—were taken possession of by the daimio Ogasawara Sadayori, and are now known to the Japanese as Ogasawara-jima.[2] Some attempts were made at colonization during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but with no permanent success. In 1875 or 1876 they were definitively annexed to Japan.

[1] *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. iv.

[2] When discovered by Sadayori they were uninhabited—hence the name Bonin (*bunin-shima*),—No-Man Islands.

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Meanwhile they had become a home for waifs and strays of all kinds. In 1827 they were visited by Captain Beechey of H.M.S. *Blossom*, whose orders were to cruise about the Western Pacific in the intervals of rendezvous with Franklin's Arctic expedition in Behring Straits. He found at Port Lloyd, in the principal island of the middle group, two Europeans, survivors of the crew of an English whaler, the *William*, which had been wrecked there some eight months previously. Captain Beechey could not identify the islands with Bunin-shima, and took possession of them on behalf of the British Crown. In 1830 a small party of colonists arrived from the Sandwich Islands—five Europeans or Americans, three of whom seem to have been British subjects, and a few Hawaiian labourers. The islands were afterwards visited by various ships and men-of-war, including H.M.S. *Enterprise* under Captain Collinson in 1851, and by some of Commodore Perry's vessels in 1853. Webb was then at Port Lloyd, having arrived in the Nantucket barque *Japan* in 1849. Among the residents in the early sixties was a man named Horton, who had been left there by Commodore Perry. This man was born at Boston in England, served under Nelson at Copenhagen and in the battle of the Nile, and afterwards entered the U.S. Navy. He was finally removed to Yokohama on an absurd charge of piracy, and died there in 1864.

Lady Parkes, through Mr Hodges of the Yokohama Court, sent a present of clothes and other articles to Webb, who was in great poverty, and a subsequent letter of his, which shows some education, obtained one knows not how, is not uninteresting :—

Webb to Mr Hodges Bonin Islands March 7

> I received your kind letter and present that you sent to me and I send you many thanks for your kindness to me and my family. . . . I hope you do not believe all that ——— may tell you about the people . . . for he cannot tell the truth. . . . I find him a big rogue. . . . The Japanese are gitting very strong at the island, they number over 300 and have 100 buildings and plenty of

sickness, they have had nine deaths sence the last steamer. They are cultivating cotton and coffee and pepper . . . if Mr Robertson should return plese give my compliments to him for me. 1879 ÆT. 51

A friendly and interesting letter from Herr von Brandt, who had been German Minister at Tokio and was then Minister at Peking, belongs to this period:—

From Herr von Brandt Peking July 3

Many thanks for your long and interesting note of 28th April. If I have not answered it before this, pressure of business and the poor state of my health were the only causes of my apparent neglect, and I need hardly tell you that I shall be most happy to renew our correspondence. The memory of the times when we used to fight back to back is a too pleasant one, not to make me gladly welcome any direct news from my old companion in arms.

From what I heard at London and Berlin, and from what I read in the papers, I can fully understand the difficulties you have to contend against in the revision of your Treaty, or rather of most of the Treaties, now pending. The way in which the Japanese Government went about it, the very doubtful allies it found in Le Gendre et Co. and the native press, the proceedings of the United States Government in concluding a separate Treaty, which gives nothing to Japan that would cost the United States a shilling, but throws all the compensation for the advantages they obtain upon your and our shoulders, all unite to make your and our position in Japan a very difficult one; but I have no doubt that common sense will come out first in the long-run. Iwakura and Co. are evidently bent upon driving the foreigner from Japan: what assassinations and the court of Kioto could not accomplish is now to be tried under pretence of the offended dignity of the nation and the sovereignty of the Mikado. But I should like to know what Japan would be worth to the world at large if the right of trading between the open ports (what the Japanese and Americans call the coasting trade of

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Japan) were taken from the foreigners and their manufactures excluded from the Japanese market, by a prohibitory tariff? We might just as well return to Deshima at once. Our revision in China does not proceed much more favourably than yours in Japan. We contend in vain against the stolid power of resistance, the *vis inertiae* you know so well: and if we do not yet encounter the same phrases about abolition of exterritoriality, submission to Chinese jurisdiction and sovereign rights, which you do in Japan, it is simply because the hostile elements are not yet educated enough to take to that clap-trap: there are however not wanting European teachers who will very soon bring them up to that point.

The great question here is for the moment the annexation of the Loochoo Islands by Japan. The Chinese are very much enraged about it and talk very openly that it must lead to war between the two countries: so openly that I rather believe them to intend on the one hand to try to intimidate the Japanese and on the other to exercise a certain pressure upon the Foreign Representatives in order to make them look more favourably upon a demand for mediation. The Yamun is at this moment waiting for the results the endeavours of General Grant may have: when they have failed, as I have no doubt they will, as far at least as I know the Japanese, the Yamun will then try foreign mediation either through the Representatives here or in Japan; I rather suppose in Japan, as they are likely to be met here with rather unpleasant remarks about non-fulfilment of Treaty obligations, etc. But even if everything should fail, I do not see how China could act on the offensive against Japan: they are utterly unfit to send an expedition to the Loochoo Islands, and not much more capable of defending themselves against Japanese inroads, as long as the invaders would not attempt to gain a permanent footing on the mainland. A little war between China and any foreign

Power would do it an immense deal of good and would make it progress more in six months' time than it would do otherwise in twenty years. The great fear of the Chinese, however, is that the same thing which has happened with regard to the Loochoo Islands may repeat itself with regard to Korea, and they are certainly not very far from the truth in supposing that relations between Japan and Korea must end sooner or later in an armed conflict. I have told them twenty times that the best means of preventing an attempt by Japan to seize Korea would be to throw that country open to foreign intercourse: they, and especially Li Hung-Chang, fully agree with me, but they do not dare to counsel such a course to the Koreans, who appear to act the part of an *enfant terrible* towards China, bullying her and reviling her for her concessions towards foreigners. Taken altogether the situation is not without interest and may have rather far-reaching consequences. 1879 ÆT. 51

Sir Thomas Wade has returned to this delightful place a few days ago, hale and hearty, after adventures enough to finish three ordinary mortals. He had the good luck to get wrecked with the *Shunlee* at some part of the coast where a German ship had suffered the same fate in December last, and had been plundered unmercifully. At our demand a general bambooing had just been going on in that part of the coast, and Wade reaped the benefit of our measures.

I hope you have good news from Lady Parkes and your little family, which must be very much grown up by this time: kindly remember me to Lady Parkes when writing to her.

Good-bye for to-day, my dear Sir Harry. I shall write to you again as soon as something interesting happens here, and I do count upon your promise of not letting me wait too long for an answer.

CHAPTER XXXVII

FRIENDS AND CRITICS

1879–1882

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In the beginning of October (1879) Sir Harry Parkes received an alarming telegram from Dr Bishop of Edinburgh concerning the health of Lady Parkes, which had been on the wane since she had caught a chill at a Paris railway station on her journey home some months before. After procuring the necessary permission from the Foreign Office, Sir Harry left Japan for England, by way of America, on the 11th October. A deep and warm sympathy was expressed by the members of the Japanese Government and by the whole foreign community on the occasion. He was accompanied to the steamer by the Cabinet Ministers Ito, Inouyé, and Yamada, and by a few of his most intimate friends among his colleagues and in the foreign community. It is the exact truth to say that the departure of the British Minister under such circumstances threw a gloom over the whole of that world, native and foreign, in which for so many years he had been a leading figure. A month or more of anxious suspense awaited him, and he needed to the full all the help so universal a sympathy could afford. He was deeply touched by the strong though unostentatious display of public feeling, and never forgot it; nor, as his more private letters show, did he ever forget the unvarying kindness he received from his countrymen throughout his long period of service in the Far East.

Lady Parkes died on the 12th November, in Holland Road, Kensington. She bore her long illness with a fortitude that only wavered when the thought obtruded itself that Sir Harry's summons home, which had not been sent with her knowledge, might prove a serious hindrance to the progress of the important work of revision with which he was then occupied. He unfortunately arrived in London four days too late, and was only just in time to attend her funeral, which took place on the 19th at Whitchurch, Stanmore, where they were married, and where her husband now rests beside her. In a letter to myself dated the 30th of the same month Sir Harry writes :— 1879 ÆT. 51

> I left Japan by the first opportunity after receiving the earliest warning that her illness was attended with danger. I lost not an hour in crossing America—but I arrived too late to hear her last wishes and injunctions, to smooth her pillow, and to close her eyes. . . . She hoped to the last that I should have reached in time. I have now six children to take charge of, and feebly indeed shall I replace her in that charge, while the Legation will have lost the bright and good spirit to which it owed entirely whatever attraction it possessed. To. F. V. Dickins Nov. 30

The following words, taken from the *London and China Telegraph* of the 26th November, expressed the general feeling of all the foreign communities in the Far East :—

> It is with sincere regret that we have to announce the death of Lady Parkes. . . . Her memory will long be affectionately cherished, not only by all the foreign residents in China and Japan with whom she was acquainted, but also by a wide circle of Japanese lady friends, whose interests she had always deeply at heart. Lady Parkes showed great courage in facing difficulties and dangers, and we believe was the first (foreign) lady to make the ascent of Fusiyama.

It may be added that she was probably the first woman to make that ascent, and, as has been previously

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stated, that she was the first foreign lady to make the ascent of Asamayama. In her charming book on Japan, dedicated to the memory of Lady Parkes, Miss Bird speaks of her hostess in language that must be quoted :[1]—

> She has given liberally of those sympathies in sorrow and of those acts of thoughtful and unostentatious kindness which are specially appreciated by those who are 'strangers in a strange land.' People only need to be afflicted in 'mind, body, or estate' to be sure of soft kind words . . . and generous attempts at alleviation. She has used all the opportunities within her power to win the confidence and friendship [of the higher classes of Japanese women] . . . and to encourage them to take a more active part in the influential sphere of social duty.

It was no mere official courtesy or conventional sympathy that prompted Inouyé to send at once a full telegram conveying his deep grief and sincere sympathy ;—the Prime Minister Sanjō Sanetomi to express by letter how great was his own sorrow and that 'of the many attached friends' Lady Parkes had made in Japan ;—Iwakura in like manner to transmit the warmest expressions of condolence and friendship ;—and that generous and simple soldier, the Minister of War, Saigo Tsukumichi,[2] to write the following letter, under date of 30th December 1879 :—

From Saigo Tsukumichi Dec. 30

> I learned of your sad loss, and it gave me quite a shock. I hardly know how to address you under these circumstances, but I cannot resist the desire to express my sympathy for you. She was so kind and affectionate a partner, and no man, I venture to say, ever enjoyed more domestic bliss than yourself. Your lady was a dear friend of Mrs Saigo, and when she heard the news she felt almost as distressed as if she had lost a sister of her own. . . . She desires me to express

[1] Miss Bird's book consists mainly of letters written on the spot ; and when the letter whence this extract was taken was written Lady Parkes was living and presiding at the Legation.

[2] Brother of the famous Saigo Takamori, the leader of the great Satsuma rebellion of 1877.

for you and your children her heartfelt sympathy and regard. With good wishes, I remain your sincere friend, SAIGO TSUKUMICHI. 1880 ÆT. 52

Sir Harry Parkes' stay in England was prolonged until December 1881, mainly for the purpose of advising the Foreign Office in relation to the question of Treaty revision, which since 1878 had been the absorbing question of Japanese politics, and which has not even yet (October 1893) reached a solution. To the consideration of this question, by far the most important that has arisen since the ratification of the Treaties in 1865, a separate chapter must be given.

After the death of his wife, Sir Harry went to Torquay on a visit to his brother-in-law, the late Mr Hall Plumer, and in that quiet winter residence slowly recovered to some extent from the great shock of his loss. He returned to spend the winter in London. The summer of 1880 was passed partly in a yachting tour in Scotland, and partly at Seven-Oaks, but with frequent visits to London, where he was in constant request in Downing Street. During the autumn and winter he occupied a house in Kensington. In March 1881 Miss Parkes was presented at Court. In May the whole family went to a pleasant home, Childown Cottage, at Chertsey, where the younger children were to remain, during Sir Harry's absence in Japan, with their aunt, Miss Plumer, whose loving care of his children, now as in many previous years of separation, was to him an untold comfort and relief of mind. In November 1880 appeared that most attractive of books of travel, Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, the preparation of which gave occasion to a letter that testifies to Sir Harry's sympathy with the accomplished authoress in her difficult task, as well as to his deep sense of all that was good and beautiful in nature and humanity:—

I sent you on the 17th a very rough draft of the notes on foreign trade which I had promised you. I ought to have rewritten them before sending them off, but I was afraid of losing another post—as I should have To Miss Bird Seven-Oaks Aug. 19 1880

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done—if I had copied them. You will have seen that they formed a 'first rough'—so rough indeed that I am afraid they will have been scarcely legible. My chief difficulty in sketching them was the want of space, as you limited me to a couple of pages. They will need rewriting at your hand, and I am ashamed therefore to think that I have given you so little assistance, but your high standard of composition is your own and is not to be imitated. I can only hope that the ideas may be of some trifling service to you. The figures, however, will show the nature and amount of the trade. It is to her agricultural and mineral resources that Japan must look for advancement of wealth. Okuma estimates that less than a fourth of the area of Japan has yet been brought under cultivation, and while the soil therefore affords such a field for the industry of her population—which is essentially an agricultural one—it is idle to waste time or money in starting the manufacture of fabrics of a kind alien to the country, with the view of prematurely converting an agricultural people into a manufacturing one. I added to the three Returns of Trade a Return of Shipping and Foreign Residents, but these of course you will omit if you do not think them worth insertion.

During my recent Scotch trip I sighted dear Tobermory twice. Once we only passed it, but on returning we arrived there shortly before nine in the evening, and as we stayed there during the night I went on shore. An intelligent girl at the Post Office provided me with a boy who showed me the way to the beloved cottage of your sainted sister. I found it of course closed, and also the wicket of the charming little garden in front; but mounting on the wall I took a view of the whole spot, and indulged during the few minutes allowed me (for I was keeping a boat and party of guests waiting in the town below) in the rush of feeling that welled up in heart and soul. The white cottage was beautifully lighted by a pale moon, and

the peacefulness of the beautiful scene seemed typical of that perfect rest and far higher beauty that she and they are now enjoying. Flowers, which also spoke most eloquently of her—for they were almost all white, —were sweetly blooming in the little garden, and I was able to pick one, which I think I should surrender to you, and I therefore enclose it. I would beg of you —when you feel so cast down and when your soul is disquieted within you—to allow yourself to be encouraged by the remembrance of her spotless life, and the sure and certain happiness which it has secured to her. Rejoice with her in that full fruition of purity, goodness, and untroubled rest to which she has attained—that her strength should have been made perfect even in her earthly weakness, and that she should have been enabled while here to do such good work, and bear such bright testimony to her Saviour's cause. She lives as freshly as the flowers in her garden in the memories of the people of Tobermory—for as the boy who was with me spontaneously observed, as a comment upon my silent contemplations, 'we in Tobermory were all of us very sorry—*very* sorry when Miss Henrietta was taken away.' I should also tell you that at Oban I had the pleasure of meeting Professor Blackie, and you who know his manner can understand how warmly and feelingly he could speak both of your dear sister and of yourself. I thoroughly enjoyed my conversation with him—in hearing him describe, in terms that rose to poetry, your sister's beautiful life, and then—on passing on to yourself—the high estimate he places on your own work and writings. He observed that your account of the volcanoes of Hawaii exceeded in power of description anything that he had read. . . .

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ÆT. 52

I cannot at present tell you much of my movements. The work which I have been so long expecting has come in, and I may be closely occupied with it during the two months which will form, as far as I can at

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present foresee, the limit of my stay in England. But some very knotty questions have been raised by the Japanese Government, and I doubt whether our authorities will be disposed or able to deal with them hurriedly. Political affairs *will* take time for completion rough hew them how we may. Minnie[1] sends you her warmest love. She is indeed, as you perceive, a treasure to me.

P.S.—Since I sent you my rough notes on the 17th I have received (but I don't know from what quarter) the last sheets of your work from p. 305. I think the chapter on foreign affairs reads exceedingly well.

The following letter from Mr Talbot, an old Yokohama resident, and director of one of the three chief English newspapers published in Japan, illustrates the confidence felt by the commercial community in Japan in their absent Minister, and the anxiety with which his return was awaited :—

From Mr Talbot *Japan Gazette* Yokohama Dec. 7 1880

During your absence from this country the aggressions of the Japanese upon trade have assumed formidable proportions. Deprived of the power of purchasing specie for paper on the open market, other measures have been resorted to. 'Direct Trading' companies are established, and others are in course of formation. These concerns are supplied with currency by the Government ; produce is purchased, and, passing through the hands of foreign agents, it is packed and classified, and, upon the certificate of the agent, the banks . . . make cash advances to the extent of four-fifths or 80 per cent. By these means the currency is 'inflated,' the tradal rights of foreigners are invaded, and the country is deprived of the only means of purchasing imports, which latter have heretofore been paid for with the proceeds of exports—tea and silk chiefly, the two articles now appropriated by the official companies. Many attempts have lately been made to memorialize the Foreign Ministers, but the prevailing opinion seems

[1] His eldest daughter Marion, now Mrs J. J. Keswick.

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to be that until the return of Sir Harry Parkes nothing can be done.

It is very gratifying to British residents to hear from men of all nationalities the warm expressions of respect and confidence felt for and reposed in their absent Representative. There is but one opinion at present, and that is, that if a remedy exists, it can only be properly obtained and applied by Her Majesty's Minister, whose experience of the country and knowledge of the Treaty rights of foreigners are qualities essential in the Minister who should attempt to deal with the present crisis, if I may so call it: and I feel it will not be displeasing to you to learn, after so long a service in Japan, that your prolonged absence is a source of very earnest inquiry and anxiety to the community as a body and without regard to nationality.

A letter from the Japanese Secretary of Legation, Mr Satow, now Her Majesty's Minister to Morocco, refers to Miss Bird's book:—

From E. M. Satow
Yedo
Jan. 10
1881

I am extremely obliged to you for sending me the *Quarterly* with ——'s article on the two books of travel which every one out here has been most anxious to read. Very few copies of either have yet reached this country, but I am one of the recipients. The verdict which pronounces in favour of Miss Bird is most just. One can read her work with great pleasure, and the account of the Ainos will be most valuable. . . . Mounsey has sent me the *Contemporary*, with Sir Rutherford's article. It is astonishing that he should still preserve so clear a recollection of a country which he quitted seventeen years ago. I was interested to hear a diplomatist say the other night at dinner, that all the attempts to negotiate at Peking inevitably resulted in the same provisions as the Treaty negotiated by him, which was never ratified. I hope it will eventually become possible for me to go to Peking. Old Liu is about to leave us.[1] His pupils have fallen

[1] See above, p. 250, 266.

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off one by one, and even I have given him up for a man who seems to be a better teacher, though I continued to pay him ten dollars a month up to November last. Kennedy[1] is giving him a gratuity for his faithful services during the last three years, and it is to be hoped that he will go away satisfied. . . .

The present three students are without exception extremely satisfactory—hard-working, steady, and gentlemanlike. They are all anxious to get on with the language, and I am preparing for them a MS. documentary series with translations and notes as a legacy before I go to China. . . .

A new Chinese Minister is announced, with an entirely new staff. Okuma[2] is just bringing out a new financial retrospect of the last ten years or so in the form of a pamphlet, which I translated for him. . . . His weak point seems to be the reserve. . . . It is nominally over fifty millions of *yen*, five of which are specie and bullion, the remainder being notes. . . . He includes the paper money in the reserve among the paper money in circulation, and the advances made by Government to private persons in the reserve, which seems rather confusing.

During the two years of Sir Harry Parkes' absence, 1880 and 1881, the most important acts of the Japanese Government were the publication of a Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure, and the postponement of the accomplishment of the Mikado's oath[3] by the grant of a

[1] R. J. Kennedy, Chargé d'Affaires in Sir Harry's absence, now at Cettinje.

[2] Then Minister of Finance.

[3] Taken by the Mikado before the assembled *kuge's* and daimios, 6th April 1868, viz.—

1. The practice of discussion and debate shall be universally adopted, and all measures shall be decided by public agreement.

2. High and low shall be of one mind, and social order shall thereby be perfectly maintained.

3. The civil and military powers shall of necessity be concentrated in a single whole, the rights of all classes be assured, and the national mind completely satisfied.

4. The uncivilized customs of antiquity shall be broken through, and the

constitution until 1890, a delay which gave rise to great political excitement. 1881 ÆT. 53

Of the minor events of these years some were not without significance, good or bad. In 1880 a shooting party in the neighbourhood of Osaka, of which Prince Henry of Prussia was a member, was rudely handled by the police, who could offer no defence whatever of their conduct, and once more proved their unfitness for their duties. Of a very different character was the generous subscription contributed by Japanese of all parties of the sum of 300,000 *yen* for the repair and maintenance of the great shrines and temples of Nikkō, so closely connected with the history of the fallen Tokugawa dynasty—the first truly national act of the people of Japan. The year 1881 witnessed the arrival of the Duke of Genoa, to whom the Mikado paid a state visit on board the *Vittor Pisani*, and a little later of the King of Hawaii, who was received with full royal honours. In the autumn Prince George and Prince Albert Victor visited Japan, and had the honour of receiving H. I. Majesty, accompanied by his Ministers, on board H.M.S. *Bacchante*.

That the political remedy of assassination had not yet fallen into disrepute was shown by an attempt in April on the life of Itagaki Taisuké, then leader of the so-called Liberal party, and a formidable opponent of the Government. Itagaki was a Tosa man, and together with Saigo and Eto Shimpei,[1] both of whom had been unable to keep their heads on their shoulders, had formed part of a previous Cabinet, from which all three had seceded on account of the disinclination of their colleagues to enter upon a foolish and ruinous war with Korea.[2]

In May an Exhibition of Japanese Art and Industry

impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature be adopted as a basis of action.

5. Intellect and learning shall be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the Empire.

The above translation is certainly not accurate, but I have not the original by me to correct it. The last clause of (4) is a curious illustration of the then phase of mind of the ruling class in Japan.

[1] See above, p. 226. [2] Soyejima.

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was opened in Tokio, enabling an interesting and instructive comparison to be made between the productions of Old and of New Japan.

On the 7th December (1881) Sir Harry Parkes was summoned to Windsor, when the Queen invested him with the riband, badge, and star of a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St Michael and St George. The next day he left London, accompanied by his daughters Miss Parkes and Miss Mabel Parkes, to take up his post in Japan. On the way out he wrote to his sister, Mrs Lockhart :—

To Mrs Lockhart S.S. *Peiho* Jan. 9 1882

To-morrow morning we shall be at Singapore. Our journey so far has been uneventful but pleasant and comfortable—no bad weather except for one day in the Mediterranean, and no great degree of heat either in the Red Sea or since. Certainly December and January are the best months to make this passage in. It would have been dull for me, if it had not been for the company of the girls, for I seem to recognize each stone or house or tree or cocoa-nut of every place we stop at,—I had almost said every wave of the sea that we have crossed. But Minnie and Mabel have served those objects up again with the fresh sauce of their enjoyment and hearty interest, and I have derived much pleasure from their satisfaction. We had three hours on shore at Naples—that was new to me—the same at Port Said, which is a sad hole—three days passed rather slowly in the Canal, which is scarcely equal to the traffic that is now passing through it—took a peep at Suez, where the foreign community were somewhat agitated by a mutiny among their small garrison of Egyptian troops—spent a day at Aden, which Dante should have seen before he wrote his *Inferno*, for I believe it would have added strength to his dark imagery ; and with this place in our memory we appreciated all the more the rich verdure of Ceylon. The mail steamers now visit Colombo as well as Galle, and at both those places I gave the girls long drives through cocoa-nut and cinnamon plantations,

and rich tropical vegetation and trees of all kinds, which are pleasant enough to the eye but the poison of asps is under their *leaves*. The voyage has done me good, for I felt that I could be idle and sin not, while I could easily occupy myself to an extent that prevented the time hanging heavily on hand. Seventeen more days will, D.V., see us at our journey's end, unless I should go on to Shanghai which would add another week to the voyage. I shall not make up my mind on this point until I get to Hongkong. I should very much like to see Isabella, but I may find it necessary to get on to Japan as soon as possible. We have had very pleasant fellow-travellers in Dr and Mrs Hepburn. I knew them first at Amoy in 1844, soon after that they went home to America and recommenced mission work in Japan in 1859. She watches the girls like a mother, and they show her the reverence due to such a senior. 1882 ÆT. 54

Shortly after Sir Harry's arrival at Yokohama towards the end of January 1882 he was presented with an address from the foreign residents of all nationalities. The addresses presented to him on various occasions were one and all distinguished by a truth, sincerity, and earnestness of feeling that quite remove them from the category of conventional utterances with which incoming and outgoing ministers and governors are usually regaled. I make no apology, therefore, for printing some of them, together with Sir Harry's answers, in full. A hundred proofs could be given of the extraordinary confidence reposed in him during the whole period of his service in Japan; his mere presence seemed to afford a sense of security, and his return was invariably hailed as that of a longed-for friend as well as an able and fearless protector of the just interests of every member of the community.

We the undersigned foreign residents in Japan desire to offer you a cordial welcome back to this country after your prolonged absence, to express the sincere

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Address of the Foreign Community to Sir H. Parkes Feb. 1882

esteem in which we hold you, and the unfeigned pleasure it affords us to find you once again amongst us. Throughout the long interval of years during which you have represented the interests of Great Britain at the Court of His Imperial Majesty the Mikado you have so fully earned our gratitude that we feel impelled to take this occasion to express it. In all matters concerning the progress and the fostering of trade, as well as in those affecting the well-being of our little communities, we have always found you untiring in your endeavours and unsparing in your exertions. Not the less do we feel stirred to respect and admiration of the ability, courage, and energy which have always distinguished you. From your Sovereign you have received that recognition which your services demanded; we, too, desire to add our tribute, and in doing so, whilst not unmindful of your brilliant career in China, it suffices us to remember and recall the period of your residence amongst us in Japan.

Charges we are aware have recently been made against you—some so base and slanderous that we care not even thus to allude to them; of the others we beg you to believe that we fully endorse the refutation you yourself have thought fit to give to them, and in all these attacks we desire to assure you that we have heartily sympathized with you. And once more we would ask to be allowed to welcome you back as an old resident, one whom we venture to associate with our social life in the pleasantest of recollections. We tread here on sacred ground, but, remembering the dark shadow that has crossed your path since you were last amongst us, we feel that all the kindly emotions which prompt this address would be as nothing did we fail to offer you our respectful sympathy. And finally we would tender you our best wishes for your continued health and prosperity.

The address was very numerously signed, and after its presentation by the committee, among whom I find the

names of such well-known and representative residents as Messrs D'Iffanger, Wilkin, Gay, Reid, Rickett, Taylor, Walter, Wheeler, and Kirby, Mr Mollison spoke a few words of personal welcome. Sir Harry said in reply :— 1882 ÆT. 54

Answer of Sir H. Parkes

Gentlemen,—I thank you most cordially for the address you have been so good as to present me on the part of many of my countrymen, and also of other foreign residents of this country, with whom I have had the pleasure of being long associated. We all know the value of a hearty welcome, and I should possess less than ordinary sensibility if I failed to appreciate the one you have given me, combining, as it does, approval of my public proceedings, with the expression of warm personal regard, and of deep sympathy in my private affliction. I am aware that an address of this character is mainly due to the circumstances of the lengthened period of my residence among you, and to the identity of interest and feeling which so happily unites the various sections of our foreign community. It is very gratifying to me to be greeted by you as an old member of that community and to find that you entertain such kindly recollection of the part I have taken in promoting, according to my opportunities, its public and social welfare.

The malevolent accusations to which you allude will soon, I trust, be forgotten. As personal attacks they have fallen harmless; but in common with yourselves I regretted their occurrence, because they were calculated, in inexperienced minds, to occasion national estrangements, and to excite susceptibilities which all right-feeling men should make it their endeavour to dispel. In resuming my duties I am animated chiefly by the hope that I may be able to do some further service to your interests, and, I trust I may add without presumption, to those of the country in which we live. Those interests, whether foreign or native, are so intimately bound up together that they admit of no real antagonism, and the advancement of the one must

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depend upon the prosperity of the other. I am not unmindful that in striving to realize the above-named objects, I may fall short of your expectations and my own wishes, but I shall trust to you to support me as you have hitherto done, in evil report as well as in good, and to believe that no effort shall be wanting on my part to merit the continuation of your confidence and to strengthen our friendship and extend our commerce with this interesting and progressive nation.

The casket destined to enclose the address was presented at a later date by a deputation of the committee. In acknowledging the gift Sir Harry said :—

I am at a loss to express my admiration of the beautiful casket designed as the depository of the still more valuable address which the foreign community in Japan presented to me on my return in February last. I am particularly gratified with the taste of the givers, which prompted the selection of a work of Japanese art, of which it is an unique and perfect specimen, and I need not add that it will be always highly prized by myself and my family, not only on account of its intrinsic worth, which is greater than I should have desired, but chiefly for the attachment and regard which it denotes on the part of many friends in this country with whom I have been so long associated. I beg you to convey my best thanks to them for their most acceptable souvenir.

On some of these 'base and slanderous' charges enough has been said already. As to the others, with a single exception to be considered further on, it must suffice to refer to Sir Harry Parkes' letter of simple denial, printed in the *Times* of 4th June 1881, as in itself, for all whose opinion is of any value in the matter, an ample refutation of the whole of the malevolent and totally unfounded criticism that has been applied to British diplomacy in Japan.

Sir (then Mr) E. J. Reed, whose business in Japan was simply that of a traveller in ironclads, but who, for

reasons which it is unnecessary to set forth here, met with a quasi-royal reception[1] from the Japanese Government, more to the amusement than to the amazement of the foreign community, had done what he could to emphasize and disseminate these charges—or some of them,—which appear to have been brought originally by Mr House, who had been an American teacher in a Government school. Though an amiable as well as an accomplished man of letters, when not fighting British spectres in the columns of his paper, the *Tokio Times*, or elsewhere or elsewise, Mr House seemed to change his nature when dealing with a country that championed what he characterized as the suicidal policy of free trade, or a Minister who dared to date his letters from Yedo instead of from Tokio, the name given to the old Tokugawa capital by the new Government.[2] 1882 ÆT. 54

The only letter from Sir E. Reed found among Sir Harry Parkes' papers, written after the former had been several weeks in the country, may find convenient insertion here.

Dear Sir Harry—Very many thanks for your great kindness in sending me the papers, which will be very interesting and useful to me. Feb. 4 1879

With regard to the MSS. papers, perhaps you would be able to show them to me some day at the Legation after my return: if not the present shall suffice.

We start to-morrow morning, and expect to be absent the greater part of a month; but I shall do my utmost to get back by the end of February as I want to take a run down to Manila before finally leaving here for home *viâ* America.—With renewed thanks, I am, dear Sir Harry, yours very truly, E. J. REED.

[1] See extract from the *Japan Gazette*, quoted in the *London and China Telegraph* of 14th March 1879.

[2] Oddly enough, as these lines are written a letter from Mr House to Sir Harry is disinterred, dated from Yedo, and referring to Yedo in the body of the document. Some years ago the present writer was arraigned by an American man of science before no less a person than the late Mr Darwin for having referred to *Yedo* in a published letter instead of *Tokio*. The very same offence was committed by the complainant himself in the very letter of complaint.

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Of the charge reserved for consideration—that of trampling a Japanese official in the dirt—a complete refutation has been discovered in Sir Harry Parkes' correspondence. That refutation is worth giving in full as illustrative of the mode of manufacture of calumnies of too silly a character, one would have thought, to have found credence with a political personage and his brother believer, an eccentric colonial governor.

From Consul Russell Robertson Yokohama Japan July 27 1881

The last mail (French) brought from home the correspondence in the *Times* that has passed between you and Sir E. Reed. I naturally read the letters, but my attention has been diverted from these to the extraordinary letter of House's appearing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the [9th June 1881], and particularly to that portion alleging that you assaulted a Japanese official at Kobé, and that Lowder was the authority for the statement.

The incident out of which this extraordinary charge has been fabricated was one in which I played a prominent part. When you were occupying the Kobé Consulate at the time of the Bizen affair[1] you will remember that there was an armed occupation of Kobé by the allied squadrons after the Bizen incident, and instructions were issued to stop any boats carrying armed Japanese proceeding up the Osaka Bay. One morning the *Ocean* steam-launch stopped three such boats, which were brought into shore close to the Kobé Consulate.

You were apprised of this, and I got a message from you to come down to the beach and act as Interpreter. Lowder was then in charge as Acting-Consul; you had a large portion of the Legation staff with you under the Consulate roof, and Enslie and I completed the Consular staff.

On joining you at the beach there was a small knot of naval officers, and with their bows touching the shore were drawn up three good-sized Japanese boats full of two-sworded Japanese.

[1] See above, p. 82.

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The time was about 4.30 A.M., on a day in February or March 1868.

You directed me to request the Japanese officer in command of the party to land; he did so, and two or three of his followers also stepped on shore.

You then through me asked who they were, to what class they belonged, what place they hailed from, and to where they were bound. To these questions succinct answers were given. You then asked if they had heard of the Bizen outrage. The reply was 'No.' Under your instructions I then narrated briefly to the Japanese officer what had happened. He listened attentively, and remarked that, he being of another clan, he did not see how any affairs of the Bizen clan concerned him. On my interpreting this to you, you pointed with your hand to his Japanese comb—or top-knot of hair[1]—and said: 'What does he mean by such a remark? I make no such distinctions as between Bizen and other clans; they are one and all Japanese. What would he and his men think if the sailors now around us were to open fire on him and his companions in the unprovoked manner that the Bizen men fired upon us?' On putting this into Japanese the officer simply bowed, and you then said: 'They can now proceed'; and re-entering their boat the three boats went on their way to Osaka. There was no Sangi concerned; I forget the clan to which these men belonged, but it was one having its *locale* not far down the Inland Sea. There was no seizing, no throwing down on the ground—the thing is too absurd. Out of the above has been manufactured the paragraph of House's letter, which I enclose.

I at once spoke to Lowder on this subject; he said he had been a spectator of the affair from the gateway of the Consulate overlooking the beach, he had seen the Japanese making repeated bows, as was natural

[1] Among most if not all of the clans distinctive modes of dressing the hair existed.

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enough, for when I was speaking to him he frequently bowed in Japanese fashion, which, as you know, is apt to assume exaggerated proportions, but he (Lowder) had not witnessed any assault. The enclosed note has reached me from Lowder, and he has addressed a letter which appeared (*vide* enclosed) in the local papers of yesterday.

If Mr House's allegations have no better foundation than those on which he has founded this story of the assault, then indeed his statements may be said to rest on no foundation-whatever. . . .[1]

All your friends here are anxious for your return.

Mr Lowder's letter in effect confirms Consul Robertson's narrative.

These charges formed part of a settled attack upon the British Minister, which began as far back as 1874, and lasted to the end of his life. Some echoes of it still hang about shady corners. It originated in his opposition to the views expressed, on their return from Europe in 1873, by the Iwakura Mission, whose schemes and methods he deemed both immature and premature. Sir Harry's opposition has proved of the utmost benefit to Japan, and has been sanctioned by all her subsequent history. The object of the attack was essentially political; it was hoped that by free use of the weapon of personal slander he might be driven from Japan, to be followed by some ordinary diplomatist ignorant of the Far East, whom --to quote the language of a Japanese Cabinet Minister —the Imperial Government could 'twist round their fingers.'[2] There can be little doubt that the slanders were mainly sham slanders, no more credited by their authors and propagators than by the foreign communities in Japan or by the Japanese themselves.

There is no doubt, however, that Sir Harry Parkes' detractors derived support from the factious opposition uniformly offered by the American Minister to whatever

[1] The omitted portion refers to another subject.

[2] See below, p. 352.

proposals emanated from the British Legation. Mr Bingham's conduct was not admired by his Government; he was instructed to act as far as possible in concert with his colleagues, but he appears to have paid very little attention to such orders. The one thought that dominated the American Legation was a dread lest the free and enlightened citizens of 'the greatest Republic the world had ever known,' etc., should not get their full share of the loaves and fishes with which a westernizing Japanese Government was stocking the waters. Mr Bingham professed much virtuous indignation at the number of Englishmen who were received into Japanese employ, and ascribed it all to the undue influence of the British Legation. It is needless to say that Sir Harry Parkes scrupulously abstained from recommending Englishmen for employment by the Japanese Government: but, to show how his actions were intentionally perverted, the simple act of helping the Mikado to procure European furniture, for the palace he was preparing for the reception of the Duke of Edinburgh, brought on Sir Harry a ridiculous charge of 'private dealing'! It is satisfactory to know that the childish jealousy of Mr Bingham and the American communities in Japan was repudiated by his official superiors at Washington at least as early as 1874. It might be supposed that this prejudice against British subjects and the British Minister arose out of some scathing comments upon American teachers in the employment of the Japanese Government, contained in a series of articles published in the *Japan Mail* in 1873. These articles, however, were not written by a British subject, but—as is clear from the internal evidence of the articles themselves—by some citizen of the Great Republic. An extract or two will give some notion of the sort of adventurers who in the early seventies too often palmed themselves off upon the Japanese as educators in the arts and sciences of the West:—

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> It is unalloyed truth to say that the majority of the 'Professors' in the schools of Tokei [a synonym of

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> Tokio] were graduates of the dry-goods counter, the forecastle, the camp, and the shambles, or belonged to that vast array of unclassified humanity that floats like waifs in every sea-port. Coming directly from the bar-room, the brothel, the gambling saloon, or the resort of boon companions, they brought the graces, the language, and the manners of these places into the schoolroom. . . . The only known instance in which Japanese pride revolted . . . was after a report had been circulated that one of the professors was a butcher by trade. . . .[1]

From such sources, cleavers would be more formidable than clavers; and Sir Harry might reasonably bid his fleshly opponents stick to their blocks.

Perhaps as conclusive an answer as any to these gross inventions or perversions is to be found in the conduct of Parkes' own Government and that of the Government to which he was accredited. When he left Japan in 1879 and again in 1883 the Japanese Government showed every mark of honour to the Minister who is alleged to have insulted, threatened, robbed, and cheated them. On the latter occasion, as will be seen later, he was specially thanked (as he had previously been in 1871) for his services to Japan by the Mikado in person, who regretted that the rules of the English service prevented Sir Harry from accepting the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun,[2] and in lieu thereof presented the departing Minister with a pair of bronzes which had been in His Majesty's own possession—according to Japanese ideas an honour of the most exalted kind. Lastly in 1881 the Queen bestowed upon Sir Harry Parkes, as has been already mentioned, the Grand Cross of the Order of St Michael and St George, the only occasion, it is believed, on which that much-coveted distinction has been con-

[1] See *Reports of Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation*, Commercial, No. 16 (1874) pt. 1 (Japan, by the late Mr R. G. WATSON), p. 108.

[2] P. 343. Even the generals who had put down the Satsuma insurrection had not been offered this decoration.

ferred upon any representative of the Crown for service in the Far East. 1882 Æt. 54

It may be added that on the Japanese Government being informed of the death of Sir Harry Parkes they sent a long telegram of condolence to the British Government, of which the closing sentence, given below (p. 352), suffices to prove their sincerity.

It has been alleged in some quarters that the British Government or its Minister or both had delayed and obstructed the revision of the Treaties of 1858. There is not a word of truth in this charge. The letter of Lord Granville[1] (13th January 1873), who then held the seals of the Foreign Office, to Sir Harry Parkes, shortly after the Iwakura Mission had left England, shows the impossibility of discussing the question with the Envoys, and declares the satisfaction with which the British Government would view the establishment of such a settled state of order and justice as would allow of the abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction. Naturally, it was upon Japan that the duty devolved of moving in the matter of revision, but the Government had their hands too full of difficult business, internal and external, to make the necessary preparations or to draw up definite proposals until towards the close of the seventies.[2] That much more than a mere importation of legal machinery, codes, and judges was necessary was admitted by most intelligent Japanese. In an able article on the subject of extra-territoriality which appeared in the *Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* (*Daily News*) of the 26th October 1874—then edited by Fukuchi, who had been a high official of the Foreign Office and Chairman of the Tokio Municipal Council—the writer almost seems to have had Lord Granville's despatch before him. I quote freely, because the article not only shows the hollowness of the charge of

[1] See above, p. 175.

[2] In their circular of 1878 on Treaty revision the Japanese Government themselves admit that since the return of the Iwakura Mission 'various occurrences affecting both the domestic and foreign affairs of the Empire had induced the Government (of Japan) further to defer revision.'

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delay laid against British diplomacy, but is of great importance in its bearing upon the question of revision generally :—

Extract from *Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* Oct. 20 1874

. . . At the risk of being thought prejudiced in favour of foreigners, let us place ourselves in the position of Foreign Ministers of State, and we shall certainly refuse to call upon our countrymen to obey the laws of Asiatic countries ; and the duties of a Government towards its people would certainly not permit of it. This is one of the most important of its duties. In no Asiatic country are there satisfactory laws, nor a complete system of jurisprudence, to which life or property could be entrusted. For example suppose that our own Government were to enter into Treaties with China, Korea, Annam, and Ava, and were to agree to place our people under the jurisdiction of those countries, could it be said to have discharged its duties? It is the same in the case of Treaties between Europe and Asiatic countries.

Well, then, is there no arrangement by which the divided jurisdiction Treaties can be abolished? There is. But that plan does not consist in overreaching foreign Governments by temporary artifices, and so obtaining the abolition of the Treaties. It consists in enabling foreign Governments to entrust their nationals to our country's laws with perfect freedom from anxiety. How are they to be reassured as to this matter? By the compilation of a satisfactory code of laws ; by the institution of courts which shall not be influenced by the power of the Government ; by the appointment of experienced legal officers, and the association along with them of juries ; and offering to foreigners practical proof that their decisions are impartial.

. . . Of late frequent reforms have been made in the judicial system, and the earnest desire of the Government is that our laws shall not differ from those which are common to all countries. But laws must be established on the basis of the customs and

old precedents of the country for which they are intended, and it would be impossible to transplant the law of another country and apply it to our own. Greece adopted a selection from the French and German laws as its national code; which looks very beautiful on paper but is said to be unmanageable in practice, because it is at variance with Greek customs and precedents. Let us, pray, go on gradually and gently. . . . As for the notions of those who, utterly disregarding our want of legal officers and counsel, and leaving out of view the differences of custom and precedent, propose to adopt all of a sudden a translation of the Code Napoléon just as it is, and, with that as a Japanese national system of law would propose to abolish extra-territorial jurisdiction, we can only regard them as the ideas of beardless schoolboys. 1882 Æt. 54

In a still more elaborate article in the same newspaper in February 1876, wherein ample knowledge of the history of extra-territoriality is displayed, the whole question is again exhaustively discussed, and like conclusions with those of the former article even more emphatically expressed. Similar views are not unfrequently met with in the native press of later years, and it is easy, therefore, to understand how it came about that it was not until February 1881 that the British Government were made aware of the Japanese proposals in a complete form. In July of the same year Lord Granville addressed a letter to Mori Arinori, then Japanese Minister to Great Britain, in which the situation is concisely set forth :—

Earl Granville to Mori Arinori July 23 1881

M. le Ministre,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th instant referring me to your previous letter of the 25th March, relative to the proposed revision of the Treaties between Great Britain and Japan, and expressing the hope that substantial progress may shortly be made in the consideration of the subject, as delay, you observe, is calculated to affect injuriously the fiscal and other

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interests of Japan, as well as her foreign commercial relations.

While I fully reciprocate your feeling as to the desirability of proceeding with this negotiation as rapidly as possible, and can assure you that the efforts of Her Majesty's Government have been sedulously directed towards that end, I think that I should correct that impression, which may be derived from your letters under acknowledgment, that any delay, if such has occurred, is to be attributed in any degree to Her Majesty's Government.

The receipt of the proposals of your Government formed, as you are aware, the necessary initiatory step in this negotiation, and those proposals, which were invited by Her Majesty's Government in the middle of 1879, remained incomplete until I received on the 28th February last a Table of Conventions, which forms a most important annexe to the draft Treaty of Friendship. It was obviously incumbent on Her Majesty's Government to exchange views with the European Treaty Powers who had received the same proposals, and I may add that the character of the changes which your Government desires to introduce into the existing Treaties, and which extend far beyond the scope of revision provided for by the 22nd Article of the British Treaty with Japan, have materially contributed to the difficulty of speedily arriving at a common ground of agreement.

Thus, in regard to the new system of jurisdiction to which it is proposed that the British subjects in Japan should in future be amenable, and which forms almost the sole subject of the draft Treaty of Friendship, I may point out that the questions raised by your Government are of too wide and important a nature to admit of being treated without previous careful examination of the laws of Japan and the constitution and legal procedure of the Japanese Courts.

On these subjects Her Majesty's Government are

still only imperfectly informed, and they have no means of judging how far the laws which are believed to be under revision and the practice of the Courts, which do not appear to be regulated by any positive rules of procedure, have been brought into conformity with the principles received by western nations. 1882 ÆT. 54

For these and other reasons which I need not now detail, Her Majesty's Government feel that they cannot accept the two draft Treaties proposed by your Government as a suitable basis of negotiation. But I am glad to think that those subjects which affect the fiscal interests of Japan, and which equally concern the commercial interests of Great Britain in that country, admit of being more easily dealt with. I trust, therefore, that if these questions be treated on both sides, on the basis of reciprocal concession, it will not be difficult to arrive at a satisfactory understanding respecting them.

With this view Her Majesty's Government have placed themselves in communication with the Chambers of Commerce in this country on points connected with the tariff and other commercial matters, and I shortly expect to be able to instruct Her Majesty's representative at Tokio to propose to your Government to enter on joint preliminary negotiations with all the foreign representatives at that capital, for the purpose of arriving at a general agreement as to the essential amendments in the existing Treaties which experience has proved to be desirable. This agreement, after being accepted by all the European Treaty Powers, should serve as the basis of revised Treaties which might then be separately concluded by the various contracting Powers at the place and in the form which they may severally consider most convenient.

I have reason to believe that this plan of proceeding is concurred in by the various European Treaty Powers, and as it has been prompted by the most friendly consideration for the wishes of your Government, I trust it will prove acceptable to the latter, and

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be the means of bringing about a mutually beneficent settlement of the questions at issue.

From what precedes it is clear that neither Great Britain nor the British Minister was in any way responsible for the delay that had occurred in the revision of the Treaties. Nor was it in truth the fault of the Government of Japan, whose only error was the very pardonable one of not having understood from the first what a number of great and difficult issues were involved in so large and thorny a question.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

REVISION OF THE TREATIES

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'WE are not the equals of foreigners in the mechanical arts: let us learn their drill and tactics and we shall be able to turn the tables upon them,' the *opponents* of *jōi* are represented by the author of the *Dream of Genji* as naïvely exclaiming in 1854. Very likely the argument was nothing more than a feint to turn the flank of a hostile faction, and *jōi* no doubt meant jealousy of the Shogun rather than mere hatred of the foreigner. But the cry for Treaty revision which arose upon the return of the Iwakura Mission in 1873 was met by the Government with a similar reasoning, if with more reality of purpose. 'Let us first import western systems of law and procedure,' it was urged, 'and the stranger within our gates must submit to our administration of them.' The parallel is not altogether exact—*jōi* was merely a cloak for a quite different sentiment. Treaty revision has come to extend itself, in mathematical language, to its limit—abrogation. The method was a mistaken one, resulting from three fundamental misconceptions. Of these the first was an altogether exaggerated notion of the importance of extra-territoriality from the Japanese point of view.[1]

[1] Much of what follows is based upon, or is in substantial accordance with, various notes, drafts, and memoranda relating to revision found among Sir Harry Parkes' papers.

1882 Æt. 54 Of the 2389 foreigners (exclusive of Chinese) resident in Japan, even in 1887, only a very few were in the least likely in practice to be withdrawn from Japanese jurisdiction, and that in effect only just so far as Japanese laws were inadequate or indeed non-existent. As plaintiffs not one could be withdrawn from that jurisdiction, for the consular jurisdictions are exercisable in respect of defendant foreigners only. To some thirty or forty millions of Japanese this exiguous amount of half-exemption, accorded to a few aliens residing in three or four open ports, could scarcely be matter of material concern—aliens who might not wander a foot beyond a strictly-guarded frontier, drawn at a few miles from their port, save under a rigid passport system which forbade, and still in 1893 forbids, even a verbal contract of purchase or sale being made beyond the boundary. Neither in China nor anywhere else, in modern times, has so severe a system of isolation ever been enforced against foreigners.

The second misconception is that extra-territoriality *per se* is a derogation from national sovereignty. Throughout the Middle Ages in Europe different degrees of extra-territoriality were the rule rather than the exception. The Jews were more or less under their own jurisdiction,[1] the clergy were almost wholly independent of territorial laws, the Hanse towns had their privileges. Exemptions of a similar kind still exist, even in the United Kingdom. The American States are more or less extra-territorial in their system of law and administration, and in Old Japan the *tozama* daimiates enjoyed in practice complete Home Rule. There was no surprise on the one side nor concession on the other when extra-territoriality was established by the Treaties of 1858. The extra-territorial system was absolutely necessary, if merely to supplement

[1] In the states that grew out of the fall of the Roman Empire the Jews enjoyed autonomy in accordance with the German principle, that the law to be applied depended not on the land but on the nationality, as now in the East Europeans are judged by their Consuls according to the law of their respective nations.—WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel and Judah*, 3rd ed. p. 197.

the deficiencies of Japanese law, which did not in truth exist at all. There was the Tokugawa system, there were some three hundred daimiate systems, but there was in fact no Japanese law at all, no law of the Empire. The Japanese Commissioners, as Lord Elgin's account abundantly proves, knew quite well what they were about; they 'were exceedingly particular, and did not admit new articles or even verbal changes [from the American Treaty] without the fullest discussion, and an anxious inquiry into the meaning and probable effect of such alterations. I was much struck,' adds Lord Elgin, 'by the business-like manner in which they [the Japanese Commissioners] did their work, making very shrewd observations, and putting very pertinent questions, but by no means in a captious or unwilling spirit.' In truth, in Japan, as in China and Turkey, it was rather out of contempt—or perhaps indifference—that the foreigner was denied the benefits of the territorial laws, of which he was not deemed a proper object. 1882 ÆT. 54

The most unfortunate misconception of all was—to use Mr Masujima's language—that Japan 'could buy and import civilization and foreign institutions like any other commodity, and use them with the same ease and benefit as do the nations where they are indigenous.'[1] Mr Masujima, indeed, is opposed to codification as practised in Japan, which is no codification of existing laws (as the French code mainly was), but 'the introduction of a new system of laws in its entirety by direct importation from foreign countries,' the provisions of which are 'quite foreign to the whole form in which the Japanese mind is moulded,' and involve the 'complete subversion of the basis of Japanese society.'

Almost identical opinions are expressed by Yoshida Kiyonari, sometime Japanese Minister at Washington, in a pamphlet on *The Proposed National Assembly in Japan*, published in 1883—a copy whereof, with pencil indica-

[1] See his paper in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xviii. The whole essay is well worth reading.

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tions by Sir Harry Parkes, now lies before me. The motto of the pamphlet is *Natura non operatur per saltum*, which might have been taken for the British Minister's own device in relation to the evolution of New Japan. The author's object was to show that Japan was very far from being fit for Parliamentary institutions.

'When her people,' he writes, 'show that they have gone to the fountain-head of knowledge by manifesting even the slightest evidence of originality of thought and investigation in the wide field of literature, there will be proof of the fact that the spirit is abroad which leads to political advancement. Until then, and so long as Japan continues so far behind the rest of the world in literary performance, there is a fair argument by analogy that her political condition is not much further advanced.'[1]

The foregoing explanation will be found to justify the attitude which, as will be presently seen, the British Minister felt himself compelled to assume towards the revision proposals announced at the Conference of 1882. The history of the question up to that time must now be briefly stated.

When the Japanese Government mooted the subject of revision in 1878—for the first time since the return of the Iwakura Mission in 1873—they appear themselves to have entertained some doubts as to the propriety of abolishing the consular jurisdictions, for though their circular to their representatives abroad states the desire of Japan to 'enter into a more complete enjoyment of its sovereign rights,' the especial aim is declared to be merely a modification of the tariff.

[1] Japan can now (1893) boast of historians, archaeologists, and publicists who would do honour to any country. There are Japanese men of science whose word is authoritative. But in literature properly so called, in imaginative literature, New Japan has yet to show her powers. To literature of this kind, unfortunately, the language of Japan does not readily lend itself, owing, in large measure, to its rigidly impersonal form—it is antipodean to such languages as Greek and Hebrew. See Mr Dening's very valuable and instructive paper on the Modern Literature of Japan in the *Report of the Ninth International Oriental Congress*, also an extremely interesting paper on the Japanese and Korean languages studied comparatively, by Mr Aston in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. pt. 3.

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At this juncture the natural course of events was interrupted by the action of the United States. American diplomacy in the East has always been a thing *sui generis*, and never more so than in 1878, when it achieved a treaty[1] *à l'insu* of the Treaty Powers, which is a diplomatic curiosity. Almost every clause takes away what it concedes, and the whole winds up with a provision that no part of the Treaty is to come into force. In fact the Japanese were invited to partake of a Baratarian banquet; each tempting dish as it was set before them was withdrawn, and finally the cloth was removed with a promise that dinner should be forthcoming—some day. The feast has not yet been provided, and the whole crop of this diplomatic effort has been a ridicule from which Japan herself has not altogether escaped.[2]

Meanwhile the negotiations for revision were in progress, and in the autumn of 1880 the draft of a new Treaty, of which the *Japan Herald* managed to obtain a copy, was submitted by the Japanese Government to the Powers as a basis of discussion, together with certain memoranda attached thereto. One of these memoranda was intended to explain the proposals, and reads like a pedantic lecture addressed by a peevish professor to a class of naughty students, rather than a State paper. The other dealt with the question of jurisdiction, and as far as it is intelligible demanded full recognition of the amplest rights of Sovereignty to be exercised at once upon the completion of certain specified codes of law and procedure, to which the sanction or consent of the Treaty Powers was not stated to be necessary; in the meanwhile, as a matter of grace and favour, to be exercised only in matters of police, in respect of partnerships between

[1] The ratifications were exchanged 8th April 1879. The abortive Treaty of Count Fe d'Ostiani made some years previously, but promptly disavowed by his Government, needs merely to be mentioned.

[2] The story runs that the disabling clauses were inserted at the request of the Japanese Government itself, afraid at the last moment of throwing open the country to Americans before the people were prepared to meet Yankee competition upon something like equal terms. The story, if not true, is at least *ben trovato*.

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Japanese and foreigners, and in relation to Customs and some other regulations. No legislative or administrative authority, either to support Japanese laws or regulations, or replace them by others of equivalent force, was to remain in consular hands. In return for concessions of this kind nothing whatever was offered, the Treaty limits were not enlarged and no removal was proposed of the restriction that prevents a foreigner making a common mercantile contract in any place distant twenty-five miles from a Treaty port. As Mr Chamberlain says in his amusing *Things Japanese*, it was an aggravated case of—

> the fault of the Dutch—
> That of giving too little and asking too much.

The Treaty Powers—America excepted—as politely as possible refused to have anything whatever to do with these proposals, and the weary work of negotiation again began. Some time was lost in determining the question whether the revision should take place, piecemeal, as it were, at the various European courts, or in Japan—finally it was settled that it should be conducted at Tokio, the only place, one would have thought it must have been plain from the beginning, where by any possibility it could be carried through.

A Preliminary Conference accordingly was opened in Tokio on the 25th January 1882, a short time before the British Minister's return to Japan, and sat until the 27th July of the same year. The President or Chairman was Inouyé Kaoru, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, supported by Shioda Saburō, an assistant Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, a man of great ability and an excellent English scholar. All the Treaty Powers were represented, including the United States, whose Minister, however, did not take any part in the proceedings until the 26th March. On the proposal of the President the Austro-Hungarian Treaty of 1869 was taken as the basis of the negotiations, and the subjects of discussion were arranged in groups, relating to Jurisdiction, Tariff, Commerce and Navigation, and

Duration. At first everything went smoothly enough. The whole tenor of the discussion during several meetings led to the conclusion that no objection was entertained to the extra-territorial system, and that all the Government desired was that the system should be made more efficient by improvements which, with scarcely an exception, had long previously been part and parcel of British consular jurisdiction in Japan. But at the sitting of the 1st June a totally new turn was given to the negotiations by the President's unlooked-for production of an altogether novel scheme of jurisdiction under which extra-territoriality wholly disappeared. The President's proposals were at once and without discussion received with applause by the American Minister—who perhaps was not an entire stranger to their redaction — and most of the other Ministers nodded approval, although they preferred to leave the consideration of the scheme to their respective Governments. Sir Harry Parkes was not content to play so effaced a part :—the less so since the British Government had only recently declared that even the much less revolutionary proposals of 1880 raised issues too important to be decided upon without the most careful previous examination of the laws of Japan then (and still in 1893) under revision, the constitution of Japanese courts, and the character of their procedure. His observations were presented in the form of a memorandum, the principal portions of which, comprising a sketch of the proposed scheme, may be thus summarized. 1882 ÆT. 54

Premising that the President might rest assured of the sympathy of the British Government in any efforts that might be made to bring the laws of Japan into such a condition as to allow of the entire abolition of the consular jurisdictions, the British Minister pointed out that the new Penal Code had only been one year in operation, and that neither civil nor commercial codes were yet in existence.[1] As late as the close of 1879 an

[1] No complete system of law, procedures, and regulations has been promulgated up to the present time (October 1893).

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able Japanese publicist declared that the laws did not duly protect the lives, liberties, and property of the Japanese themselves, and required very considerable reform before they could be generally approved by the Japanese people.

The principal features of the President's scheme were that within a period of not more than five years from the date of ratification of the new Treaties extra-territorial jurisdiction should be entirely abandoned, except in respect of certain capital offences and in relation to matters of personal status. On the acceptance of this comprehensive proposal all the conditions and concessions of the scheme were dependent. During the 'transition period' of five years the territorial (Japanese) courts, to be composed in part of foreign judges, were to exercise criminal jurisdiction over foreigners in all cases of 'contraventions' wherever committed, and in all cases of 'delicts' committed beyond the existing Treaty limits (which would involve the power of imprisonment for a term of five years in any Japanese gaol), and were in addition to enforce all police or administrative regulations both within and without those limits. In civil matters not arising between foreigners of the same nationality full jurisdiction was likewise to be exercised. Thus the transitional jurisdiction, exercisable at once, would be almost as complete as that which would be acquired upon the total abolition of extra-territoriality.

What was offered in return for the acceptance of this transitional jurisdiction was some enlargement of foreign rights of residence and land tenure within the Treaty ports and cities, with permission to foreigners to travel for trade or other purposes, but not to reside or hold land in the interior.

There was to be no probationary period: the abolition of the extra-territorial system was to be unconditional at the end of five years, irrespective of what might be the result of an experiment under which foreign and native judges [1] wholly unacquainted with each other's languages

[1] See Mr Masujima's remarks, cited above, p. 315.

and modes of thought, and having no previous knowledge of the laws they would be required to administer, were to work together in the organization of a system subversive of all previous native practice and entirely alien to native tradition and experience.[1] 1882 ÆT. 54

A better plan would have been to follow the indications of the senior legal adviser of the Japanese Government, who, speaking on the part of that Government, had recently observed at a European Conference that 'as Japan removes *one by one* the causes which produced extra-territoriality in her dominions, so should the Foreign Powers withdraw' their consular jurisdictions.

The President had proposed that the foreign judges should act not only in mixed cases but also in purely native cases of importance, 'whereby not only would the new laws be more effectively administered, but . . . they (the foreign judges) would serve as examples upon which the native judges might model their judicial conduct.' Concurring in this suggestion, Sir Harry asked why it should not be adopted at once in the disposal of existing mixed cases in which Japanese were defendants—a plan which would afford a capital opportunity of showing the Treaty Powers how the proposed system would eventually work, and so inspire a confidence that could be better founded on accomplished facts than upon good intentions.

[1] Mr Kirkwood, a member of the Japan Bar, and now, it is believed, one of the legal advisers of the Mikado's Government, wrote to Sir Harry concerning the competence of the Japanese courts and judges in the following terms :—

'I do not say that the actual organization of the courts is bad, but I do say that the judges are as a body incompetent and without qualifications, that in all the Courts in Tokio and Yokohama (Supreme, Appeal, and First Instance) there is not a single interpreter of any pretensions to competency, that the judges have no idea of the relative position of bench and bar, and that the equipment of the Courts is such as to render the proper conduct of a suit by counsel almost an impossibility.'

My own seven years' experience of Japanese tribunals was, I confess, somewhat different, though equally dismal. The judges seemed to me able, painstaking, and impartial, but appeared to have no body of law upon which to found their decisions or guide their procedure. The method of carrying judgments into execution amounted to a plain denial of justice, while with scarcely an exception Japanese evidence was wholly untrustworthy and subject to no sort of control whatever.

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The circumstance that two-thirds of the foreigners resident in Japan and ten-elevenths of the shipping frequenting the ports were English and American was then adverted to as a reason for English being accepted as the official language, and for English systems of law being alone considered in the preparation of the codes. Various obvious difficulties that would have to be overcome in relation to interpretations, the creation of a bar and other incidental but highly important machinery, were then considered, and Sir Harry closed his remarks by a general suggestion of the advisability of a gradual replacement of the present by any new system, in accordance with the progress to be made by the reformed courts in dealing with the novel and complex questions that would engage their attention.

On the tariff question no fundamental differences of opinion were expressed at the Conference. The President disclaimed any intention of raising the tariff for any other purpose than that of increasing the stock of specie in the country, which through the forced paper issues had almost disappeared from circulation. His proposals practically raised on the average what had become in effect a general *ad valorem* tariff of about 7 per cent to about 10 per cent. But nothing need be said here on the long discussion that took place, for no change has been made, and the tariff of 1866 still holds good, while Japanese paper has risen to par and the necessity, though perhaps not the desire, for a protectionist or semi-protectionist policy has disappeared.[1]

Mr. Kirkwood's criticism[2] goes far to explain Sir Harry's distrust of the wide scheme propounded by the President, but the following observations of the foremost Japanese journalist of the time, Mr Fukuchi of the *Nichi-Nichi Shimbun*, as well as the remarks previously cited of Messrs Masujima and Yoshida, lend even stronger support

[1] A sketch of the progress of the Foreign Trade of Japan will be found in the Appendix (D).

[2] See note on preceding page.

to the British Minister's arguments. Mr Fukuchi had written a little more than a year before the opening of the Conference :— 1882 ÆT. 54

> Let us now give an example of what may befall a native of Japan under the existing laws. Suppose that a gentleman arouses the suspicion of the police. They can enter, or if necessary, break into his house at dead of night, without notice or warrant. Although in disguise they may arrest him, rummage through his papers, and thrust him into prison, where he may be kept for weeks and months undergoing preliminary examination.[1] He may be charged with all sorts of offences, refused bail, deprived of every trace of freedom. Sent to a higher tribunal, the doors may be closed and the public excluded. He will not be allowed the assistance of counsel, and unless very clever and well versed in law cannot hope to extricate himself from the meshes of the net which surrounds him . . . though perfectly innocent. . . . Law books cannot be used in prisons, and he cannot therefore refer to them for his defence. There is no jury—his guilt or innocence lies in the uncontrolled discretion of the judge who presides, . . . if acquitted, he may be tried for the same offence over and over again.

To the arguments advanced by the British Minister it is clear that no answer was possible in the early eighties, whatever may be the case in 1893. In July the Conference came to an end. From time to time the question of revision has since been taken up, but without permanent result. In 1887 a Treaty was on the brink of being concluded, but it fell through; and what the dominant party in Japan now seems to demand is that the existing Treaties should be torn up and Japan given *carte-blanche* in the preparation of new ones.

As has already been shown, the importance of extra-territoriality, as far as the Japanese are concerned, is not

[1] The police not only could, but very commonly did, act in the way described.

1882 Æt. 54 great. It may indeed be asserted that it is extremely slight, unless perhaps as a matter of sentiment. That Sir Harry Parkes had no objection to very considerable modifications of the extra-territorial principle his Treaty with Korea amply proves. He fully admitted, as the British Foreign Office has always admitted, that the abolition of the Consular jurisdiction must come sooner or later. But foreigners are differently situated from the Japanese; the commercial and shipping interests of British subjects in Japan are enormous; and to bring these under the jurisdiction of courts having neither tradition nor experience to guide them is a very serious thing. It has not been sufficiently considered that western civilization is not so much the product of legal systems as of a body of knowledge and tradition slowly growing from century to century. Laws resume and maintain but do not create a civilization. Hence the importation of codes and legal machinery is no great thing to boast of, and of itself gives no strong claim to civilized rank. Even this step, however, has only been partially taken by Japan; what she has in effect demanded is, as we have seen, that the jurisdictions should be abolished upon the strength of her good intentions:—as if in a country with scarcely a score of years of its new tradition behind it the actions of the next ten years could be guaranteed. Nor must the effect of the new constitution making for what may become a democracy of the South American type be left out of consideration. No widely-based and informed public opinion is possible in a country where it takes years to learn the arts of reading and writing; nor are ominous signs wanting of a recrudescence of the *jōi* sentiment in a form and under conditions very difficult to control.

In fine, from the epoch of the Iwakura Mission to the present day, Japanese diplomacy has been at fault in the matter of revision. Yet the thing is essentially simple enough, though some of the incidents may offer difficulty. What the Mikado succeeded to in 1869 was the heritage

of the Bakufu, to which in 1871 was added that of the *han*. Under the Tokugawa dynasty, as the elaborate researches of the late Dr Simmons and Prof. Wigmore have abundantly shown, and in a less degree in the Imperial domains, as Mr Masujima has explained, systems of law and administration had been evolved fairly satisfactory if within somewhat narrow limits. So far as the lower nation of some thirty-eight millions of Japanese was concerned, these systems might quite easily have been made the basis of one adapted to modern needs. Some attempts indeed were made in this direction in the later sixties and early seventies, but the new ideas brought home by the Iwakura Mission, whose work in this respect proved most injurious to Japan, arrested the process and the notion began to prevail that a short and rapid way to 'sovereignty' lay in the wholesale importation of foreign codes. As to the upper nation of some two millions of the samurai order, who much more than the peasantry suffered under the very polity which made the former supreme in the State, new creations were more necessary, but the principles of western liberty and progress might still have been applied in a manner consonant with the national feeling upon a foundation of existing forms. 1882 ÆT. 54

However, the civilization of the west, pure and simple, was preferred, but no attempt was made to understand its secret. The plan adopted was the simple one of stretching the whole Japanese people upon a Procrustean bed of imported foreign law, in order to obtain over a few cooped-up foreigners that half-jurisdiction which the deficiencies of Japan had made it absolutely necessary to reserve by Treaties. Such a policy, directly opposed to western principles, tends to accentuate the division of the people into the two nations already mentioned, and to delay the foundation, with the aid of publicity and sufficient freedom of comment, of a system of law and administration corresponding to the wishes and wants of all classes of the population. As the people grew more civilized so would the laws, and with this growth the need of extra-

1882 territoriality would disappear. Such would have been
ÆT. 54 probably the quicker method, but another has been chosen, and the principles of western civilization are still tossed from faction to faction, scarcely half understood by any political party.

The question of revision has thus become a nightmare of such dimensions that it prevents the intellect of Japan from applying itself with sufficient freedom to the consideration of national questions of much greater intrinsic importance. More than once Count Okuma has advised his countrymen to this effect—his reward has been to have his leg blown off. Probably most of the statesmen of the day recognize the mistake that has been made, and would be glad to follow Mr Masujima's indications; but Count Okuma's misfortune does not encourage them to act on their convictions. The rough and apparently ready method of foreign codes, therefore, appears to have been definitively adopted, and, despite its dangers, must be made the best of. With such a method some such scheme as the following seems alone feasible, and may be preferable to keeping the question of revision open as a constant source of irritation between Japan and the West, and especially England. The risk of the method to the Japanese themselves is no doubt considerable,—they must bear it; to foreigners the direct risk, at all events, is much smaller.

There are four kinds of jurisdiction—criminal, civil, commercial, and administrative — in respect of which separate codes would have to be redacted and accepted. The differences, still wide and deep, and probably likely to remain so for some generations to come,[1] that exist between Japanese and foreigners, should be recognized in the preparation of these codes. So far, they appear to have been almost wholly ignored, and exceptional provisions inserted which could be abandoned as time went on and their necessity disappeared. The personal status of foreigners and matters incident thereto should not be dealt with by the codes at all. There does not seem to

[1] See Mr Lefcadio Hearn's remarks, *ante*, p. 14, note.

be any reason why the codes should be accompanied by official translations, it would suffice—ultimately at least—if they were transliterated into Roman, the language used being as simple and intelligible as possible, not high-class *Kan-go*,[1] and glossaries might be prepared of terms not likely to be found in ordinary dictionaries. Apart from its scripts Japanese is not a particularly difficult language, far easier for instance than Russian, and foreigners can scarcely claim privileges in respect of it of a kind not accorded in any European country. But it would be an injustice to require a knowledge on their part of the confused and difficult scripts now in vogue in Japan. 1882 ÆT. 54

Nineteen-twentieths of the disputes that arise between Japanese and foreigners relate to commercial transactions, the foreign parties to which are chiefly English or Americans. On this ground, and on other grounds even more important, the commercial codes should be based mainly on English and American mercantile law and custom with simple English procedure. The judges of the commercial tribunals should always be assisted by assessors, chosen from a list elected by the mercantile communities, native and foreign. There would be an appeal, as of right, whenever the Court and the assessors (or their majority) differed, to the Commercial Chamber of the Supreme Court at Tokio. The criminal jurisdiction is not so easy to deal with. As regards foreigners, it must probably, for some time to come, be of an exceptional character. Perhaps most difficulties would be met by entrusting to the Superior Courts alone criminal jurisdiction in cases where the accused was a foreigner. In all such cases

[1] Scarcely a clause in the codes is intelligible to one Japanese in a thousand. There are hundreds of words and phrases in common clauses equally unintelligible to all but a very few technically educated jurists. The proposal to use Rōmaji (Roman character) is unacceptable at present even to Orientalists—but it will not always be so. The alternative is that Japan should in letters remain in Sinesian bondage while enfranchised in matters social and political. A language becomes simply ridiculous as a mechanism for communicating thought when thousands of its words are utterly unintelligible as spoken, and can only be understood when written in one or other of the several forms of the pretty but practically meaningless diagrams known as Chinese characters.

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there should be a jury composed either wholly or mainly of foreigners, but not necessarily of the same nationality as the accused. Administrative jurisdiction up to a certain degree of punishment might be left to the native tribunals, with the proviso that their judgments should be motived, and in writing, and subject to proper appeal. In the case of offences above that degree, the accused should have the option of being tried by a Criminal Court empowered to try foreigners. Perhaps at first, in all administrative cases, either a consular officer or two foreign assessors (of any nationality) ought to sit with the native authority and be entitled to give his or their opinion; if differing from that of the judge, a case should be submitted, signed by all, to the nearest Criminal Court. What difficulties, linguistic and ministerial, some such scheme would present, would not be insuperable. Under it there would be no need for any foreign judges whatever. A foreign bench involves as much sacrifice as gain of native jurisdiction, for it would subject native defendants as well as native plaintiffs to the operation of foreign methods and habits of thought. The cost, too, would be altogether disproportionate to the benefit—tens of thousands of dollars annually for the convenience of a few dozens or scores of foreign defendants.

In addition to the guarantees offered by the scheme sketched above there are others of a much more important character which must be regarded as indispensable conditions precedent of the surrender of the consular jurisdictions, and which would, it is believed, better ensure the just administration of the codes than the introduction into the system of a changing body of foreign judges. They need, however, only be mentioned here, viz.: irremovability of judicial officers of all grades; motived judgments (when a Court is composed of several judges each judge should give his judgment separately in case of dissent, as in Anglo-American procedure); full publicity of all Court proceedings, and like liberty of report and comment in the press or otherwise with that prevailing in England and America.

Lastly, in her own interest Japan would do well to apply as far as possible such a complete system of law and administration to her own people for a limited number of years (which need not be great), before seeking to apply it to her foreign population, the majority of whom might, after such trial, be as convinced as a small minority now appear to be that under it, whatever might be the discomfort resulting to the Japanese themselves from a system of foreign codes, the persons and property of foreigners in Japan would be as safe as under consular jurisdiction. 1882 ÆT. 54

No system, however, can work well under the existing press laws. These laws must disappear, they are incompatible with a representative system, and are besides absolutely futile. Their disappearance cannot but be hastened by Japan's taking upon herself the protection of foreign residents in their rights and liberties. It must be added that the police administration, which is the worst feature of the present system, and would be a matter of daily experience to the foreigner, requires a thorough reorganization. The principal police officers throughout the country must be men of a much higher intelligence and ampler experience than is now the case before they can be entrusted with jurisdiction of any kind over foreigners.

Finally, Japan has steadily set her face westwards, there is no chance of her falling back into despotic Oriental ways, and, at the worst, only those foreigners who are foolish enough to take part in her political squabbles need fear, under some such scheme as the one sketched above, any ill-treatment at the hands of Japanese authorities.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE BRITISH LEGATION AND ITS MASTER

1882–1883

1882 Æt. 54 THE course of the Conference on Treaty revision that took place in 1882 and its results have already been described, and some account has been given of Korean and Loochooan affairs in that and the following year. Both years were on the whole disastrous for Japan, where the prospect of war with China and of Korean *imbroglios* kept the Government and the people in a state of continual disquiet. The pendency of Treaty revision and the unlooked for propositions of the Japanese Government added to the difficulty of the situation, and caused a partial renewal of the *jōi* feeling that found expression in a proposal to erect a monument to the memory of the authors of the wholesale massacre of French sailors perpetrated at Sakai in 1868,[1] and in scurrilous and abusive articles in the press. To crown all, commerce was in an almost desperate condition owing to the constant depreciation of *kinsatsu* or inconvertible paper-money, of which enormous issues had been necessary to provide for the expenses incidental to the reorganization of the State upon a western model, the conversion of the *han* into *ken*, and the subdual of the Satsuma rebellion.

A lively picture of Legation life[2] and of a short

[1] See above, p. 82.

[2] The earliest British Legation residence was Tozenji in Yedo, fully described in Sir R. Alcock's classic work, *Two years in the Capital of the*

summer holiday spent at Hakoné is given in Miss Parkes' letters of this period to her aunt Miss Plumer, some extracts from which may well find a place here:— 1882 ÆT. 54

Miss Parkes to Miss Plumer Tokio June 4 1882

A new question of jurisdiction has come up in Treaty revision, and it happens to be one of the most important features of the whole thing. Papa cannot finally leave his post even for one day. He tells us a good deal about his work as it progresses, and I like so much to feel that he does not shut us out of his working interests, indeed it helps me to understand the position of Japan just now, and gives me a little insight into the character of the people, which is extremely interesting. Here I was stopped as a visitor came in, a Mrs ——, a nice English person who is married to a Japanese. . . . She is very quiet and ladylike, is very devoted to her husband, brings up her little girls beautifully, and works a good deal among the Japanese ladies, really teaching them to help themselves and drawing them out, and especially impressing upon them the difference between the state of their women and ours.

As I write, the fire bell near to us is beginning to toll, which means loss and destitution to some poor creatures, it sounds so solemn ringing out into the quiet night, almost like a death-knell.

We expect a visit from a Japanese Princess. . . .

Tycoon. Daichiuji in Akabané (Yedo) was next used as a Legation, and afterwards an uncomfortable barrack-like building at Takanawa. Subsequently a daimio's mansion, Toki no Yashiki, was allotted to the British Minister. Situate on a high bluff it commanded a fine view of the Bay of Yedo. For some time after Sir Harry's arrival in Japan the Legation Buildings occupied the site of the present Grand Hotel at Yokohama, but he himself lived next door. Afterwards a Legation was erected on the Bluff, whence a splendid view can be enjoyed over the Gulf of Yedo to the distant hills of Kazusa and Nokogiriyama, and over the wide undulating plain that stretches from the shores of the gulf to the base of Fuji and Oyama, the Shinano and Nikkō ranges, and the isolated mountain mass of double-peaked Tsukubané. Of the present Legation in Kōji-machi a graphic account will be found in Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. The Legation erected by the Japanese Government in Sir Rutherford Alcock's time was burnt, before it was completed, by incendiaries in 1863. (The above information has been kindly furnished by Mr Aston.)

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We had a large tennis party, about forty, who did not stop playing until seven. . . . A young Korean man lunched with us. . . . Papa holds forth in his usual Sunday evening way about politics.

Tokio June 15

Just come in from a long dreary dinner party in honour of one of the Japanese Princes who is leaving for Russia to be present at the coronation of the Tsar. The Prince himself gave a large entertainment last night: there was a long dinner first, and then dancing afterwards, a most heavy ponderous affair, as are all Japanese parties. . . . I hope very much the Conference will break up early in July, and then we should get away to Hakoné, which will be a delightful change for him (papa), if he will only allow it to be a holiday, and not take a lot of work up with him.

July 9

Close heavy day, very unpleasant and trying. Papa to outward appearance quite bright and gay, but I can see he is tired and weary, and he will enjoy walks and climbs among the hills (Hakoné).

Just now, as I took up my pen to write, a horrible quaking and shaking sensation began, and I knew at once it was an earthquake. . . . This evening we dined with an old ex-daimio, Daté; there were but few people, all Japanese except ourselves and Mr Satow—two little Japanese ladies were there, wives of the Japanese Ministers to Rome and St Petersburg, both spoke French very nicely. It is strange how much the Japanese dislike returning here after having filled a good position in any country in Europe—they find Tokio very dull, they say, and I don't wonder. Yesterday afternoon we were much interested in hearing an examination at Mrs Hepburn's sister's school. They have a large number of Japanese girls of all ages, and the perfect way they repeated all they were examined in would have put many English girls to shame. One little girl repeated Longfellow's poem 'Tell me not in mournful numbers' so well. . . . The only difficulty is to know what to do with the girls

afterwards ; of course they are quite unfitted to return to their own homes and lives, and they cannot all be teachers. 1882 ÆT. 54

Papa went off directly after breakfast to the last Conference, which was followed by a large luncheon. I am more than thankful that this wretched Treaty work is over, at least for a time, though when it will be definitely settled is quite another thing. Indeed papa says he does not see the least chance of it for years to come, and that it certainly won't be in his time. It is hard, after he has toiled at it so. But the Japanese cannot work steadily, they are perfect will-o'-the-wisps, first here then there.

. . . Our little mountain home at Hakoné, where we arrived about eight o'clock this morning. So delicious here, and a real treat just to sit in the verandah and look at the beautiful view we have from the window. The lake is just at the bottom of the garden. . . . All around are beautiful green hills, and behind them rises old Fuji, looking so grand with his snow cap. The house—a Japanese one—is very pretty. Hakoné Aug. 2

Even here he will work and fidget about : he cannot take things quietly. I do so long for him to be able to rest, but that is not his nature, and here, if he is not rushing up and down hills, he is working. He does not understand rowing about in a boat for the sake of enjoyment, or sitting and looking at the view ; you know he never did, and I don't think he ever will. Hakoné Aug. 14

I must go back a little and tell you how very gay we were on Friday,—the Mikado's birthday. At nine o'clock we all went to the review, papa looking very smart in his uniform, stars, and riband. We had a good view of the Mikado from the carriage ; he received all the Ministers first in a little tent, and then mounted and rode round the parade ground, followed by his suite and such of the Ministers as liked to ride. Papa mounted one of the orderlies' horses. Then of course the troops marched past the Mikado and saluted, and Tokio Nov. 5

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as he left the ground the National Hymn was played. We all returned home, but poor papa had to go to a luncheon given by the Mikado in Japanese style, all the food prepared and arranged in little boxes, which each Minister was allowed to bring away with him. Mr Chamberlain came to lunch with us, and we went in the afternoon to see a Nō—a kind of lyrical semi-operatic performance. . . . Afterwards there was a ball, at which there were some 500 guests, and it was very successful.

Sir Harry had always taken a great interest in Korean affairs (see chap. xxxii.) and not unfrequently was posted up in them by his former colleague at Tokio, the then German Minister at Peking:—

From Herr von Brandt Peking Aug. 14

I ought to have answered long ago your two letters, but plenty of work and in the last instance the latest events in Korea prevented me from doing so, as I wished to be able to give you an idea of the impression which they—the victory of the reactionary party at Söul—had produced here. When I was in Korea for the conclusion of a Treaty, *i.e.* from 21st June to 2nd July, there was certainly no sign which an observer, placed, it is true, at a certain distance from the political centre, could have remarked. Everything went on swimmingly and with less difficulty than I had ever before encountered in my negotiations with Chinese or Japanese; the population was polite and quiet, and evidently kept in excellent order, and Chinese influence seemed to carry everything before it. The events of 23rd July have changed all this, but I need not refer to details as most of what we know has come to us *viâ* Tokio. I incline only to the belief that the first attack on the royal palace was not a successful one, as the Ministers did find time to write and ask for the armed intervention of China, alluding to the attack on the Japanese Legation, and saying that the rebels would most likely not stop there. After this the murder of the Queen [1] and of the Ministers must have taken place,

[1] She was not really murdered, see p. 206.

and the supreme power passed into the hands of the former regent. Upon the Chinese Government these events have produced a profound impression, and they seem to have made up their mind to send an armed expedition to Korea to replace the King on the throne. Orders to this effect have been sent already to Tien-tsin and Nanking, and I should not wonder if these events were to hasten the return of Li Hung-Chang to office. 1882 ÆT. 54

I have an impression as if the new Government in Korea would try to arrive at a peaceful settlement with the Japanese, and as if the whole movement had been directed principally against the Chinese influence, and the foreigners which had been introduced into Korea by it. As far as nature and climate go the neighbourhood of Jenchuan is certainly one of the most charming corners I have ever met with in the world; it reminds one very much of Japan, only the vegetation is less luxuriant and bears a more northern character; the climate is all that can be desired, the temperature being certainly eight to ten degrees less than at the same season of the year at Chefoo.

The great event here has been that a week ago Wade has been called by telegraph to London 'to communicate personally with Lord Granville'; he intends to leave Shanghai by the mail of 2nd September. If this is only a polite form of recall, as some will have it, or if the Chinese Government have executed a plan they have been maturing for some time to transfer the negotiations on the opium question to London, I am not in a position to decide. American influence has been very hard at work to push the Chinese in this direction, less from any real interest they can have in the question than from a love of mischief,—perhaps also from a wish to prove to the Chinese that others are as bad as themselves.

The news you gave me about the Treaty revision has interested me very much. For my part I would

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see no objection to the institution of a kind of mixed court for all cases in which Japanese were concerned, provided the judges were elected from a certain number of persons nominated by the Treaty Powers. The proposal to submit foreigners to the Japanese police jurisdiction seems inadmissible; conflicts of all kinds and of great gravity would, in my opinion, be the immediate consequences of such a concession. In general it seems to me that the Japanese have done nothing which could entitle them to the concessions they demand, and that the experience of the past hardly authorizes any far-going experiment for the future; the fact that Japanese jurisdiction is at the present moment as bad as bad can be can hardly be given as a reason to extend it over those who are not subjected to it for the present. The opening of the country to foreign trade can hardly be considered as a fair equivalent, as the Japanese, if the measure is carried out, are certain to reap much more benefit from it than the foreigners will ever do. After all I am very glad that it is not my business to put the Japanese world right again; with all their faults there is much more steadiness and logic in the Chinese than in their high flightinesses the sons of the land of the rising sun.

Good-bye for the present, my dear Sir Harry; if anything interesting with regard to Korean affairs should happen I shall write again, and I should feel very thankful if you would give me from time to time a sign that you had not entirely forgotten me.

Some extracts from Sir Harry's own letters to his eldest daughter, then at Kobé, may follow:—

To Miss Parkes Tokio Nov. 16

I am pegging away at my work however, and am encouraged by the thought that in a few days I shall be free. I do not doubt that I shall be able to join you by next Wednesday's steamer. I am very pleased to hear that you made such a fair passage and went through Ōshima harbour. I watched you, but saw no

handkerchief waved—suddenly I found that it was 4.45 and my train was at 5. I tumbled on shore, got a jinriksha with three men, who began by rolling the jinriksha over, picked myself up again and saved the train. 1882 ÆT. 54

I was quite as grieved to send as you will be to receive the telegram that I sent off this morning, saying that I could not leave before the end of the week—but it was simply impossible for me to get off. I should be only too glad if I could, but pleasure must give way to business. My detention, however, makes me all the more glad that you have gone, and your letter of 17th received yesterday delights me by showing that as regards weather and maples you went at the right time. There will be a small Japanese steamer at the end of the week and I shall try to go by her. I believe she leaves at daylight on Sunday, so I ought to be with you on Monday night. I should be thankful to get away, for the house is dull enough. I see nothing of it but my own room, but my lonely evenings have been useful to me in the matter of work. Tokio Nov. 22

De Groote's dinner at the Enriokwan came off on Saturday, and as I was here I had to go. He looked miserable, sandwiched between two Japanese ladies to whom he could not speak, and Sanjō opposite him was similarly situated with [two foreign ladies]. Iwakura gives another large feed of the kind to-night.

In the spring of 1883 Sir Harry Parkes was offered the Peking Legation, but at a salary reduced by the sum of £500, in deference to an economical fit of the House of Commons :—

Dear Wilkinson,[1]—I have run into the country for three days for some needed air. We are a party of six—Aston and Mrs Aston, Levett,[2] and two daughters and self. We shall just miss the Shanghai mail to-morrow, To H. S. Wilkinson Kanoyan June 7 1883

[1] Mr Wilkinson had left the consular service and become a member of the Shanghai Bar.

[2] Flag Lieutenant to Admiral Willes. He married Miss Mabel Parkes.

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and I therefore drop this hasty line to explain why I do not write.

Very soon after I despatched you my last note I telegraphed to you 'Have accepted appointment.' I believe on thinking over it that the reduction of pay involved no personal reflection, and is probably the consequence of Mr Rylands' motion for an inquiry into diplomatic expenditure with a view to economy, which was granted by the Government. I am glad I took that view, as the mail of 20th April, which arrived on the 4th, brought me a very nice note from Sir J. Pauncefote, stating that he had strongly advocated my appointment. . . .

The Government have adopted all my recommendations in respect to Treaty revision.

The entirely personal letter that follows will not be unwelcome as descriptive of some aspects of the close of Sir Harry Parkes' long career in Japan, and illustrative of the tender and loving nature of the man. The Maharaja referred to was a Malay potentate, following in the beaten tracks of the globe-trotter.

To Miss Parkes
Legation
Tokio
June 25

There is an opportunity for Kobé to-day and so I have come down in my dressing-gown to have a chat with you before breakfast, for after then it would be hopeless. . . . Would that I could give you a proper birthday kiss to-morrow, my own one. Twenty-three years you will have been mine—bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh—very corporeal qualities, but I am thankful to say with your dear mother's spiritual ones ; but more than this, you have taken your place as far as a daughter could by being a new fresh little love to me. I ought indeed to be thankful, and am so, that this delight has been spared me already for nearly four years. I know I must be prepared to resign it some day, and when that day really comes I would no more wish to keep it than the poor man would wish to eat his seed rather than sow it. But I will nevertheless enjoy it while it lasts. May you have many, many

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happy returns of the day, my darling, and may you spend one or two more with me. . . .

I was vexed that I sent you such a scrap on Saturday, but the fact was I could scarcely at the moment write at all. I had come down to see M. Bourée (the French Minister from China), and intended to do many things in Yokohama in the course of the day—to see the Ewings off in the *Coptic*, the Pauls in the *Kashgar*, to discuss things with the Hannens, to peep into a shop or two, and to make a dozen calls. But I think I must have been touched with the sun, which was very hot that morning—there was a great glare on the water and not a breath of air stirring; so after leaving M. Bourée at nine I felt that, with the peculiar sensation I then had, it would be imprudent to knock about longer in the sun, so I just went to the Consulate, wrote that scrap to you, and took the first train to Tokio; and Dr Baelz, who looked in at noon to tell me he was obliged to go to Kioto to attend poor Iwakura, will have given you my message that my headache had already passed away. By keeping quiet the remainder of the day I soon became quite right again, and at five o'clock I drove to return the call of the Maharaja, which he had paid me the previous day. Yesterday morning (Sunday) I thought I had better not encounter the sun . . . so I stayed quietly at home, and visited Russell [M'Clatchie] in the Hospital. But I had to entertain the Maharaja in the evening, as I will tell you. This morning I am perfectly well again.

Now I have told you this long tale of a tub because you require me to tell you everything about myself; but if I find that a story of a short headache gives you the least trouble, I shall never let you know when I have one again.

Ahgee[1] is buzzing about me telling me that breakfast is 'leddy,' and I have not dressed, so I must be

[1] A Chinese 'boy.'

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off and finish the rest of the letter as best I may. However, I have had my little love chat and enjoyed it, and will now go back to dull work again.

Well, about the Maharaja. When I called on him on Saturday afternoon I found him very dull—he had not been well for two days with a cold in his throat. That was right again, but he was bored by having only Japanese about him, and so I asked him to dine with me quietly on Sunday as some relief. He accepted most willingly, so I came back and killed the poor turtle instead of a fatted calf, and invited French, Greville, Longford, and Layard—which, with the Maharaja and his two Secretaries, made up a round little party of eight. . . . The Malay Secretary did not come, which made our party at the last seven; too late to get a student, but W—— and C—— came in afterwards. We sat in the verandah after dinner and spent a very pleasant evening, the Maharaja staying till after eleven. He sent his own cook and butler to cook some dishes made of chickens and quails which they killed themselves (that is the point), and they made an excellent curry. I had turtle soup, two *entrées* and a jelly—and a turkey. He drinks no wine. I sighed for your sweet voice at the piano, but absence will make it sound all the sweeter when you return. He will go to Nikkō in a few days and return again about the 8th. I therefore arranged that he should dine with me on Wednesday the 11th. You will be back on the 5th—not before, mind—so this will give you time to order the dinner. And I want you to give a reception—your last one—the same evening. We could invite a number of our Yokohama friends, have the band to play in the garden, and I will provide a return train, so that we may have a very pleasant sort of farewell entertainment, and dismantling can commence immediately afterwards.

I saw Madame Bourée on Saturday morning. She spoke very cheerfully about Peking—said that they

had twenty-two ladies there, and that she would be glad to go back there again. Miss Bingham put out a feeler about *Carrots*[1] when I called, but I said he was a sacred animal, and had to accompany us. . . . On 20th we had our closing meeting of the Asiatic. I resigned my Presidentship, and received all sorts of complimentary valedictions. . . . I hope you will send me some of your home letters to read. I did not like to open them to see what kind of news they brought, but I do not like to remain in darkness. . . . 1883 Æt. 55

Miss Lee, the daughter of the great General Lee of the American Confederate army, passed through Tokio the other day on her way to Nikkō, and tried to see me. She brings me a letter, and is a lady worth meeting. I hope she will be here when you return.

I have come up here for a change of air and rest before I cross to China. I am much annoyed at being obliged to do so, as, with the Franco-Annam question on hand I should have liked to join my new post without delay. But Dr Baelz, our Legation medical officer, told me that change and rest were indispensable, and indeed I felt they were so, for owing to a touch of congestion in the head I suddenly found myself unable to work. I fancy the attack was caused by overwork and the summer heat. I had had a good deal to do in connexion with Korea, and with winding up business in Japan, and the prospect of increased work in China did not lighten my mental load. I now have simply to get away from Tokio, for as long as I am there work will come in, and people must be seen and business discussed with the Japanese Government and others. Hakodaté is such a hole that I shall go on to Sapporo in the interior of the island, when I hope to be able to get cool for a fortnight. But it is very difficult in these countries for a man who is below par to get any change or diversion. In a month from this I hope to be on my way to China. I shall not be in To W. Lockhart Hakodaté July 25

[1] Miss Parkes' favourite pony—one of the luckiest that ever lived.

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Peking before the middle of September, and then the summer will be over, and I trust the change of scene and of work will do me good. I am glad to get away from Tokio, which I believe does not agree with me, it is too damp and malarious. I have some hope that the dry climate of Peking will be beneficial. . . .

I am better, however, already, and I hope I shall ward off the attack ; but it will serve as a warning to be more careful in future. But I hope I shall have strength given me for my work. I am not over-confident, but sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Minnie is with me, and she watches me with the greatest care. She is a wonderful girl, and my great comfort. Mabel, too, is very, very good. But I shall lose her soon.[1]

Shortly after his return to Tokio the preparations for departure were begun. On the 22nd August the British Minister was invited to luncheon at the palace with the Mikado. His Imperial Highness Arisugawa no Miya and all the members of the Cabinet were asked to meet him. After luncheon, the Mikado addressed the departing Minister in the following terms :—

I sincerely congratulate your Excellency upon your new appointment as Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary near the Court of China, as I clearly discern in this act the great confidence reposed in your Excellency by your Sovereign. Nevertheless I cannot refrain from expressing the great regret I feel at parting with you, on the occasion of your present audience.

You have resided over eighteen years in this country, and I rejoice to say that, during that period the friendly relations between Japan and Great Britain have been greatly advanced. I am especially happy to acknowledge that in the early years of Meiji your Excellency not only showed great sympathy with our reform measures, but also gave us many useful suggestions regarding the material progress and advancement of

[1] Referring to her approaching marriage with Mr Levett.

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my empire. I am deeply sensible of the services you have thus rendered.

In order to show my appreciation of your valuable services I would confer upon you the Grand Cordon of our most distinguished Kiokujitsu Daijusho (Order of Rising Sun), but knowing that the rules of your Court prevent this, I wish to present, in lieu thereof, these articles—a censer and flower-vase which have been in my possession, and I shall be gratified if you will keep them as a token of my high regard for you.

On the eve of your departure from my empire, should you have any suggestions to make for this country, I wish you would communicate them to Inouyé Kaoru, our Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Sir Harry answered :—

I beg to thank your Majesty for your gracious words. They are chiefly gratifying to me in that they convey the personal assurances of your Majesty that throughout the long period I have had the honour of being accredited to your Majesty's Court, I have promoted the growth of those cordial relations which have been uninterruptedly maintained between our two countries, and have also been able to render acceptable services to your Majesty and your Government. With these assurances I need no decoration or present at the hands of your Majesty to remind me of your gracious favour and consideration, but I gladly accept the handsome testimonial you have now conferred, in order that it may serve as a record to my children of your Majesty's esteem and approval. I shall always look back upon my residence in this country with pleasure and satisfaction, and shall continue to cherish towards Japan the friendly feelings which have always actuated me. If therefore at my new post any opportunity should be afforded me of contributing to the preservation of a good understanding between China and Japan, I can heartily assure your Majesty that I shall do all in my power to promote so desirable a result.

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On the 25th Sir Harry Parkes, accompanied by his daughters and by the Hon. P. le Poer Trench and the Hon. L. G. Greville, Secretaries of Legation, was accorded a farewell audience of the Mikado, and presented Mr le Poer Trench to His Majesty as British Chargé d'Affaires. Sir Harry and his daughters were afterwards most graciously received by the Empress, who expressed her sincere regret at their departure.

On the evening of the 27th a farewell address was presented to Sir Harry on behalf of the British and foreign residents in Yokohama :—

Farewell Address

We have sought this opportunity of bidding you a united and public farewell, because we feel that it will be some alleviation of our sorrow to know that you accept this manifestation of the high esteem in which we hold you.

We come from various lands, we speak in various tongues,—but to-day we have but one voice. During eighteen years you have been amongst us,—some of us have resided here for the whole of this period, many for some considerable portion of it ; and these eighteen years, as they have passed on, have served only to strengthen the feelings of respect and esteem with which we have always regarded you.

But the closeness of the ties which have so long bound us together has now to be broken. Changing and changeful as this community always is, it does not often occur that so long a period of mutual acquaintance—and we may say, of friendship—is permitted to run its course. For us, it is matter of congratulation that we have so long had you in our midst :—for you, it is but fitting that you should pass on to a higher sphere of labour.

You came amongst us already freighted with honours, and famous for distinguished services ; and full well have you here sustained the fame of former years. There have not been wanting occasions which have called forth an exhibition of the same courage and

intrepidity as of yore, but not less have you won high and solid distinction in the quieter paths of patient labour. 1883 ÆT. 55

For us, your memorials lie around us and meet us on every hand. Those of us who are your own countrymen would desire to take this last opportunity to ask you to accept, as their Minister, this acknowledgment of their high appreciation of all the services you have rendered to them,—of the willingness you have ever shown to receive and attend to all their representations, and of your unsparing exertions in guarding their interests. And all of us equally feel a debt of gratitude for the much you have done to promote the well-being of this settlement—and of the sister settlements in Japan.

With its recreations, with its graver pursuits, with its benevolences, with its hospitalities, scarcely less than with its commercial interests, you have been always identified in a way which will leave behind you a blank not easy to fill.

There is much more we might say,—much more we would say, were this the time and the place. All we desire is that you would accept this much as the evidence of the unfeigned regret we feel at your leaving us.

And now we would bid yourself and your family circle God-speed. Believe us, your memory will remain green with us, and though gone from us we shall follow you with the pleasantest of recollections. May you spend a long career in health, happiness, and success, and increasing honour, and then enjoy, with your family around you and growing up into years and prosperity, the meed of a gallant, honourable, and distinguished career, handing down to your children the heritage of a brilliant reputation.

And we trust that sometimes amidst the cares of the important office to which you have been called, or the repose of later years, may come back to you pleasant memories of the friends you leave in Japan.

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During the reading of the address, according to the *Japan Gazette*, there were many warm expressions of approval and of cordial participation in its sentiments by those present. In reply Sir Harry spoke as follows :—

Sir Harry's Reply

Mr Wilkin and gentlemen,—It is very difficult for me to find words to reply to an address expressive of such warm attachment not only on the part of my own countrymen but on that of the foreign residents in general.

The period of years which I have passed in Japan forms no small portion of life's span, and it would have been to my discredit, during that time, if I had not become intimately associated with most of the members of this united community. But I feel that you refer in far too generous terms to the services which you consider I have rendered you. I am myself only conscious of having endeavoured not to neglect the opportunities afforded me of fulfilling my trust, and if I have succeeded to your satisfaction, I am sensible that that result is in no small measure attributable to the cordial support I have derived from my countrymen, and also to the kind assistance which I have received from the members of other nationalities. I have always found this community ready to place a favourable construction upon my action; to make allowance for difficulties which were beyond my control; and, when little was accomplished, to give me credit for honest effort. This indulgent appreciation will go far to compensate me for the pain of separation, and will always cause me to look back with pleasure on my long residence in this country.

The proximity of the post to which I am now transferred will enable me to retain a deep interest in your affairs and also in the future of this nation. I have received much kindness from the Sovereign, the authorities, and the people of Japan; and in endeavouring, as it was my first duty to do, to advance the welfare of my own countrymen, I have always felt that the

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interests of foreigners in this country were inseparable from those of the people, and I have therefore only advocated measures and pursued a policy which I believe to be conducive to the benefit of both. I have also always considered—and it is only due to the foreign residents to say that this feeling is a reflection of their own—that the Government of Japan is entitled to our best sympathy in the trials and difficulties with which it has to contend in passing through the period of transition and in entering on the wide stage of reform which our advent may be said to have occasioned. But when the changes which have been so rapidly initiated affected the position and interests of foreigners in Japan, I then maintained, as it was both my right and my duty to do, that they should be proceeded with deliberately, and that each step should be based upon mature reflection.

My earnest desire, which I am satisfied is shared by every one here present, is that in following out reform, the attention of this nation may be seriously occupied not only with political movement but also with substantial economic and industrial progress, and that the well-being of the people may be materially advanced by the removal of those obstacles which now impede the development of their national wealth and resources. We also trust that Japan will soon gain for herself a reputation for commercial intelligence and liberality equal to that which she has already acquired in regard to education and religious toleration, and that it may not long be said that the privileges which she gives to foreigners, in return for that free welcome which her people universally receive in Western States, are inferior to those which have been granted in the country to which I am now about to proceed.

Permit me to say to all those who have so kindly taken part in this entertainment, that I and my daughters are greatly touched by its cordial and spontaneous character and by its being joined in by

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so many of the foreign residents upon whom we have no claim. In the presence of such a large concourse of ladies I see a graceful and to me a most acceptable acknowledgment of the fulfilment of those social duties to which your address alludes, but in which I myself have taken only a minor share. Believe me that my daughters and myself most heartily reciprocate your kind farewell, and earnestly wish for you greater prosperity than that which has been attained in our day.

And to my countrymen I would add that as you have so generously rung out your old Minister, so I am satisfied you will ring in, with as loyal a welcome, my successor, who is so favourably known to us all. It is no light satisfaction to me to resign your interests into his able charge, and also to feel that they will be most carefully guarded in the interval which will transpire before he arrives.

It was a very proud moment [wrote Miss Parkes from Shanghai in reference to these farewells] for us to stand by his side and to see the honour and respect, which is only his due indeed, paid to him on all sides. We did feel saying good-bye to the escort men so much, both Aberdeen and Dillon have always been so good and nice, and we shall miss them so much. We gave them farewell gifts, and to Mr Peacock—what papa will do without the latter I do not know, he has been his right-hand man always.

Miss Bingham was good enough to come on board and see the last of us. I like her so much; she has been a most kind friend to us.

The crews of the Regatta Club rowed out as far as the Lightship, and as we passed they raised a hearty cheer, and that was the last sound we heard from dear Yokohama, cheering papa on to his labours here. It did make us feel so proud to know how thoroughly he deserves it all; he kept up very well, but was of course excited and tired when it was all over.

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No man ever served his country with a more single-hearted devotion than Sir Harry Parkes. His personal interests were altogether subordinated to his public work. He accepted promotion when it came—gladly; he never sought it; there is not a trace in his correspondence of his ever having taken the slightest trouble towards getting his 'claims' recognized in influential quarters. As Minister in Japan he conceived his business to be, first and foremost, the protection of British interests and the development of British commerce. His marginal pencil-marks are still to be traced against those portions of despatches or letters which bore upon this duty. Next he had at heart, not merely as auxiliary to the main object of his mission, but as a thing most desirable in itself, the unity of Japan and her continued advance towards the position she may be destined to occupy among the family of nations. At an early stage he saw that the Shogun must either remain as the hereditary Prime Minister of the Mikado or disappear, and circumstances soon made the latter alternative the inevitable one. Tenacious and pertinacious, he never swerved from the end he had in view until he had approached its attainment as closely as was possible. Absorbed in his work, he was constantly on the watch for information that could advance it, and treasured up for future opportune use any fact, explanation, illustration, or argument, coming from any source, that facilitated his task. His work became the passion of his life; it could hardly be otherwise with so earnest a nature, amid scenes of such varied and dramatic interest as Japan was the theatre of, during his eighteen years' service in that country. To obstruct that work, not to appreciate its importance, to view its aspects and phases wrongly, was resented for the moment as an unpardonable offence. There was nothing personal in the feeling: the anger was of an intellectual origin, like that of an eminent man of science now no more, who in ordinary intercourse was among the mildest-mannered of men, but whose face darkened and voice grew thunderous when heresies were

1883 broached on the subject of Alcyonarian corals or that
ÆT. 55 zoologically sacrosanct creature *Peripatus*.

His method of work was simply that of taking pains. With the aid of his officers he got together every kind of information that could conceivably be of service—the Blue-Books are full of examples—and to the mass of facts thus collected he applied a singularly keen, rapid, and far-seeing intellect, translating the results into action with the decision and moral courage that were the distinguishing qualities of his character, as untiring industry, insight, and capacity for dealing with details were of his intellect. It must always be remembered he had the immense advantage of being served by an admirable staff of officers, in large measure trained by himself; with such men as Aston, Gubbins, Hall, M'Clatchie, Mitford, Siebold, and Satow to forage for him, he could trust to his inductions with an assurance no other Minister could feel.[1]

He never failed—again the Blue-Books bear out what his correspondence proves *passim*—to note and bring into due prominence the work of his officers, in which he was every whit as much interested as in his own. He stimulated research in every way he could, and the number of valuable papers contributed by members of the consular service to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, in the work of which Society he himself took the deepest interest, testify to his and their success. One of his devices was to engage them in discussions in which he would act as opponent, and start various objections which would necessitate research; and in this way much valuable information was often obtained upon the social and political condition of Japan, which very materially assisted him in shaping his policy. It is to be regretted that so large a portion of the results of these researches lies buried in his unpublished correspondence at the Foreign Office.

Indeed the entombment of his official correspondence with the Secretary of State in the official archives at

[1] See Mr Chamberlain's remarks, below, p. 358.

Downing Street is a serious loss to the public in many respects, and has made it impossible for the writer of the preceding eighteen chapters to do justice to the important services directly rendered to Japan by the greatest of the foreign Ministers at the Court of the Tennō. For eighteen years Sir Harry represented Great Britain in Japan, and for barely eighteen months have his despatches been available for the purposes of this Memoir. In the unpublished correspondence the full story of his work as Minister is doubtless told, and some day, perhaps, it may see the light. Then at last will be known how greatly his wise advice and timely aid smoothed the transition from Old to New Japan; but the constant success of the Government he did so much to found and support, its prudence and its progress, after all bear the most eloquent testimony to the wisdom of his counsels. 1883 ÆT. 55

The style of such despatches as have been published is admirable. The narrative is always clear and interesting, the facts lucidly marshalled, the inferences neither over nor under stated. Occasionally they are prolix or repetitive, a fault due to his anxiety that the account of his stewardship should be complete in every particular. Lord Hammond, if any one, was a good judge of despatches, and in his private letters to Sir Harry Parkes he constantly refers to the despatches as most interesting, and comments upon them in language that shows he had read them with great attention. Neither in the despatches, nor in the correspondence, nor in any of the many drafts, notes, and memoranda before me, can a trace be found of the 'gunboat' policy sometimes attributed to Sir Harry Parkes, nor a hint that his diplomacy in Japan ever failed in a single particular. He appears to have succeeded, so far as my information goes and my memory serves me, in every diplomatic enterprise he undertook during the entire period of his service in Japan, without once causing a shot to be fired (unless in self-defence at Kobé on the occasion of the Bizen raid), or even resorting to a threat of setting in motion any part of the

1883 Æt. 55 considerable force at his disposal.[1] He was plain spoken, and doubtless the Japanese Ministers were sometimes warned in unmistakable language of what might be the effects of adopting or persevering in a particular policy; but a warning is not a threat, though circumstances sometimes give it that colour.[2] When he returned to Japan in 1881 the Japanese Ministers are said to have been disappointed; but if they found him sometimes a rough critic, they knew that he had the interests of Japan sincerely at heart, and that his intellectual irritation was wholly devoid of malice. When they lost him, the absence of one who for eighteen years had given them his best counsel was not unfelt even though—to quote the language used by a Minister of State in a conversation with Mr Chamberlain[3]—he 'was the only foreigner in Japan we could not twist round our little finger.' And when they heard of his death the Mikado's Government telegraphed their 'deep sorrow at the death of one whose wise and frank advice and timely and energetic action have assisted Japan in the course of her progress, and whose sincerity and kindness have won him so many friends among Japanese officials.' Eloquent and even touching words, silencing decisively and for ever the calumnies with which men, blinded by prejudice or their own interests, had sought to darken the latter years of his service in Japan.

In person Sir Harry Parkes was a fair-haired, blue-eyed Saxon, somewhat under the middle height, of slim but well-knit frame, with a large head, drooping a little forward on his neck, and a broad high forehead. His expression in repose was somewhat stern, but it was the

[1] Up to 1875 there was a large force stationed ashore, in addition to a considerable squadron of ships in the harbour of Yokohama.

[2] There were times—in the sixties especially—when a stern policy was absolutely necessary—unless indeed a century were to be spent in diplomatic wrangles. The Japanese officials of all ranks were frequently shifty and unveracious in a high degree, principally because they were dealing with issues constantly broadening out beyond—not their capacities—but their knowledge, with no tradition inherited from the past to help them.

[3] See Mr CHAMBERLAIN'S *Things Japanese*, 2nd edition, Art. PARKES.

sternness of an earnest, not of an ungenial, nature.[1] A smile lit up his face wonderfully; when he spoke on a subject that interested him his eyes sparkled and a sort of alert look effaced every trace of sternness. In speech and gesture, especially in public, he was fluent and rapid, often emphatic and brusque. His irritability was mainly the result of over-work, and of a curious hurry he was always in. Though not, in effect, dilatory, he had a trick of leaving things to the last; the result was that his comparatively scanty private correspondence was always written in desperate haste. In a letter to his sister, written in June 1869, he says:— 1883 · ÆT. 55

> I deserve any amount of blame from you for not writing. The absurdity of it is that I am always on the point of doing so, and yet when each mail comes round, I seldom, indeed I might almost say never, do more than just get my official letters into the bag. Of course I suffer for this . . . but you punish me severely by piling coals upon my head.

His handwriting is an index to his character, clear enough (to those a little accustomed to it), with each letter formed but reduced by extreme haste to its simplest expression, so that whole words approached more and more the simplicity of the straight line.

Like the Great Elchi, like the late Sir Robert Morier, he had the defects of his qualities. He took the greatest pains to be accurate, and felt that his conclusions were right with an intensity that often prevented him from understanding opposition, and begat an impatience that rather looked like, than was, anger. At all events, if anger it was, it was momentary, utterly devoid of malice premeditated or sequent. What slight bitterness is occasionally exhibited in his correspondence is very rarely displayed against persons, but rather against propositions or doctrines that he condemned—as opposed to what he considered the right ways of Oriental

[1] No extant photograph of him does him justice, but Mr Brock's bust in St. Paul's Cathedral is an excellent likeness: see below, p. 431.

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diplomacy: it was the sin not the sinner that called forth his ire—a Chinese as well as a Christian doctrine. The harshest word I find in his correspondence is 'charlatan,' applied in charity to a man who deserved a much stronger epithet. In his conversation he never spoke harshly of any one.

Out of his officers he got as much work as he could, but he never spared himself. With them his relations were most cordial (though he could both speak and act sharply at times), as they were indeed with almost every one, and he kept up a correspondence with most of them in which courtesy, good-fellowship, personal interest and business were curiously intermingled. His purse was always open to those in need of assistance, after a frank generous fashion that veiled the service. In any sort of trouble he was a helpful and most considerate adviser—not a few touching proofs of his sympathy and kindness exist in his correspondence. Though in official matters he went at once and straight to the point, and was apt to be somewhat brusque and exigent, especially with men of slow or confused minds, in all private relations he was one of the most long-suffering, friendly, and courteous of men.[1] There was not an atom of factitious dignity about him, but one saw at a glance that the earnest and busy Minister was not a man to be trifled with—and no one ever attempted to trifle with him. With the Japanese Ministers, in the sixties, his manner was not always admirable, but the conviction of those who knew him best is that he often lost sight of the Minister altogether, and thought only of some act or proposition that in his opinion—and his opinion was never hastily formed or unsupported by an ample basis of facts—militated

[1] A clerical globe-trotter, in a privately printed record of travel, writes: '20th August 1879—I called at the Legation on Sir Harry Parkes. . . . He was exceedingly kind and took a great deal of trouble for me, got out a big map of Japan, and showed me much that I wanted to know, suggested and wrote down a pleasant little route for me, and told me how to work it, then had a fresh passport made out to match.' How many of H.M. Ministers, one would like to know, would take all this pains on behalf of a total stranger?

against British interests or the welfare of Japan herself. As he grew older the irritability, or whatever it was, lessened and finally disappeared altogether, and he might, like Julius Florus, have been told— 1883 Æt. 55

Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta.

I have somewhere met with the observation that Sir Harry Parkes was not a profound man. Men of action are not profound men, they are neither philosophers nor *érudits*. Their qualities are insight, decision, and courage moral and physical, and with these Sir Harry Parkes was abundantly endowed. If scantily 'school'd he was yet learned' in the real knowledge of life, but he never lost a certain boyish ardour and simplicity. Although in his later time no student, he was always a great reader, a lover of poetry, and a devourer of as much modern literature as he could find time for. His wonderful industry extended to everything that bore upon his work. To improve himself in French—the language often used at the Conferences of the Treaty Representatives—he noted down the more idiomatic phrases he heard, and among his papers there exist piles of sheets covered with such collections, admirably chosen, furnished with their precise equivalents in idiomatic English, and written out in the fine rapid hand, that never changed save in its later approach to the simplicity of the straight line. He was a most suggestive and stimulating President of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and took a deep interest in all forms of Oriental research, though himself no *Forscher*. On home politics he had formed no strong opinions, but upon all matters of social or economic interest he was well read, and was familiar with most of the popular expositions of the advancing science of the day. Throughout the whole of his Eastern career his life was utterly clean. He could be merry enough upon occasion, loved a chat, danced with enjoyment, and was not averse from a little harmless quizzing of odd people. A truly religious man, he never obtruded the subject of religion nor shirked

1883 Æt. 55 it if brought forward. With all his experience and knowledge of men and affairs he was at bottom a very simple-minded man, and I am not sure that this was not part of the abiding charm in him we all felt but only dimly understood. I say 'we,' for the whole British community in Japan regarded their Minister with pride and affection as their head, their friend, their comrade. He was well aware of this feeling, and drew more pleasure from the knowledge than from any number of letters after his name. It was one of our delights in the seventies to see him rushing about Yokohama followed by a tall henchman (still living, I am happy to know) carrying his despatch-box, whose staid and official deportment contrasted so amusingly with his master's more impetuous ways.

He was fond of large rooms, plenty of space and light, and typhonic ventilation. His general course of life during the latter years of his service in Japan may be gathered from the extracts from his eldest daughter's home correspondence printed above, and from the following notes kindly furnished me by Mrs Aston :—

> It was only in the intimacy of home life that one realized how affectionate, how kind and thoughtful for others, and how lovable the real man was. Outside of the home circle he was the worker to whom time was precious and who sought to utilize every moment to further his objects. He was by no means a society man; one felt that to him society instead of being a relaxation was rather regarded as a part of the day's work—and not the pleasantest part. The day commenced with morning prayer, which Sir Harry conducted, then came breakfast, after which he went to his office. Lunch was an irregular meal; we seldom had it without visitors. At five or six he generally came home and went for a ride, accompanied by his daughters and any visitors who cared to join. He thoroughly enjoyed a good gallop and always kept up the pace. But it was in the evenings when there were no visitors that we saw him at his best. On these occasions we

used to sit in the morning room, which was cosier than the big drawing-room, and he never looked happier than when, with one of his daughters seated on a low stool at his feet, his hand caressing her head, he talked or read aloud. But these quiet evenings were few: there was generally some dinner-party or evening engagement either at home or abroad. It was quite delightful to see the intimacy and friendship between him and his eldest daughter: she was his companion and confidante, and did all the house-keeping, and she and her sister were charming hostesses. 1883 ÆT. 55

On Sunday evenings it was their custom to have some of the members of the Legation to dinner, and it was at these dinners I found it easiest to get him to talk on his life in China: he had the power of bringing the scenes he described before his listener with wonderful clearness, till one almost felt the excitement of the moment he was talking about. Of his kindness and thoughtfulness in times of trouble there are many who can speak, but this side of his character never obtruded itself, and it was sometimes only long afterwards that one heard how he had devoted time and energies, which were to him the most precious of all possessions, to the service of others.

It was while staying in his house that I realized first what effort his hard work cost him. He was impatient of his own physical weakness and could only be induced to give himself rest under threat of a complete break-down. Then he would take a run of a few days in the interior. No one more thoroughly enjoyed these trips than he did—he never shirked the unpleasant parts, but used to help in looking after and engaging coolies, etc., and was indeed the leading spirit in every sense of the word.

One of his hobbies was the importance of road-making in Japan—he seldom lost a chance of impressing upon the astonished and sometimes embarrassed officials of the places he passed through the need of

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thus facilitating transport. [In 1878 he caused a report to be drawn up on the whole subject, which is printed among the consular papers.]

Finally, one of his lieutenants writes of him that he was the most truly great man he ever met with; another that the history of Sir Harry's career in Japan was the history of Japan; a third that he was one of the greatest men he ever came into contact with, under whom the writer spent the happiest and most interesting portion of his life. All these expressions are quite spontaneous.

Mr Basil Hall Chamberlain[1] writes (2nd June 1893):—

My first acquaintance with Sir Harry Parkes was shortly after my arrival in Japan in 1873 when, having been prostrated by a fever, I was hospitably taken in by Sir Harry and Lady Parkes as soon as it was possible to move me from the uncomfortable Yokohama hotel of those days to the British Legation on the Bluff.

Sir Harry's practical wisdom was shown, among other things, in the training of his officers; . . . he developed the intelligence of each in its special line, and thus, if I may use such an expression, founded a school. His stimulating influence raised the members of the consular service to the position of chief authorities on all subjects connected with Japan. It was probably with that object in view that he, from the first, took a leading part in the labours of the Asiatic Society of Japan. . . . Never were Japanese studies in a more active and fruitful state than when under the supervision of this great man. . . . Sir Harry was extraordinarily far-sighted. One day, now many years ago,

[1] Emeritus Professor of Japanese and Philology in the Imperial University of Japan. He has devoted himself mainly to the study of Japanese philology, and his knowledge of ancient and modern Japanese places him at least on a level with the best native scholars of the day. His best known works are his excellent grammars and reading books; his translation of the *Kojiki* (Notices of Ancient Things), accompanied by an exhaustive commentary; his poetry of the Japanese; and his amusing book, *Things Japanese*, which has reached a second edition.

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I ventured to ask him what would be the future of Japan. 'Japan?' said he, 'Japan? Japan?' repeating himself after a habit he had [who does not remember his Yes, Yes, Yes?], 'Japan will be a South American Republic.' Who that has watched Japanese politics since the establishment of representative institutions in 1889 will not see reason to fear that Japan has already travelled some way towards a verification of this prophecy.[1] Yet when Sir Harry uttered it Japan was still ruled by a god upon earth (*iki-gami*), the descendant of the sun-goddess; only a few years before, men still seriously believed that they would be blinded if they gazed on the awful countenance of His Majesty.

Mr W. F. A. Archibald, a Master of the Superior Court of Judicature, writes:—

Nothing was more delightful than the simplicity with which Sir Harry Parkes would speak of the great events in his career. I picture him now, the kindest and simplest of hosts, as he welcomed me to Childown Cottage on the occasion of his last visit to England. We had a fire lighted in the small sitting-room of the lodge close by the entrance gate, and from time to time Sir Harry would be on all fours in front of the fire endeavouring to blow the dying embers of the damp wood into flame, then sitting down again with a cheroot in his hand, he would relate with boyish glee some of the wonderful stories of his life in China and Japan. He was cheerful and bright, as he had always been, when we crossed the Pacific together in 1871, during which voyage, in fair weather or fog, he was always delighted to play a game at deck-quoits or bull-board, throwing his whole heart into it with the warm enthusiasm and merry laughter of a schoolboy.

[1] The present writer does not believe that this prophecy will be fulfilled. There is a silent strength underlying the sound and fury of Japanese politics, which will enable the country to weather much worse storms than any that threaten it.

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These suffrages, gathered from various sources, will not be unwelcome to those who have spent some of the happiest years of their lives under the protection and friendship of the great British Minister in Japan. Inadequate as this account of his work in Japan must be, it will suffice, if some success has been attained in the attempt to unite Englishmen at home with their countrymen in those remote lands where the East and West mingle, in assigning to Sir Harry Parkes a high place on the great roll of English worthies.

PART III

MINISTER IN CHINA

1883–1885

By S. LANE-POOLE

CHAPTER XL

THE TONGKING QUESTION

1883–1884

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In May 1883 Lord Granville telegraphed to Sir Harry Parkes an offer of the Legation at Peking, vacant by the retirement of Sir Thomas Wade; and on 13th July the Gazette contained the formal announcement that he had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of China, and Chief Superintendant of Trade.[1] The appointment was received in China with acclamation. His old services had never been forgotten, and the European settlements from Canton to Tien-tsin, from Shanghai to Hankow, had never abandoned the hope that some day their old leader would come back to the scene of his early achievements. The newspapers agreed that his arrival would be the signal for 'a new departure in our relations with China,' that the lethargy, which had sometimes numbed our diplomacy there, would be roused into fresh life, and that 'a period of renewed activity' was in store for us. Mr P. J. Hughes, the Consul at Shanghai, which had long been the recognized metropolis of European enterprise in China, expressed the universal feeling when he wrote, 'Not only would all your friends be pleased to see you in China, but

[1] Sir Harry Parkes was the last Minister who combined this old title, inherited from the East India Company's agents. It was dropped after his death.

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among the public generally there are no two opinions on the subject. We shall all look up to you in Peking as the right man in the right place.' Sir Thomas Wade wrote cordially from England, 'You start fair—fairer than most men in one respect: you have the full confidence of the community,' and he added, 'You know the country and people better than any one alive. . . . May you have strength to endure!'

Sir Harry was fully aware that he was exchanging a pleasant post for one of great difficulty, and he knew that Peking, where there was no European community outside the Legations, would be anything but an agreeable place of residence by contrast with Tokio and Yokohama. He accepted the office almost with reluctance, and it was probably its very difficulty that induced him to accept it. He felt that his work was practically done in Japan: the Japanese had found their legs and could shift for themselves,—at least they were clearly determined to try;—the position of Europeans left little to be desired, whilst the question of Treaty revision, he perceived, was not likely to be speedily settled. In China, on the other hand, there was lost ground to be recovered; there was much to be done in order to make the provisions secured by Treaty really operative; there were two or three grave questions at issue between the two Governments; and there was the Tongking dispute assuming more serious proportions every month, and offering a splendid opportunity of distinction to the man who should be able to bring it to a satisfactory close. After eighteen years of Japan, happy and useful as they had been, his restless spirit welcomed a change, and ambition told him that in China he would find a field of honourable contest. Yet the uppermost feeling in his mind was one of duty—the duty he owed his country to better her position in the land where he had so often fought for her interests, and where so much remained to be achieved. The prospect of his new post, he told Mr Lockhart (11th June), 'does not afford me any delight, for the burden will be greater, the responsibilities

heavier, and the disagreeables of life more numerous than here; but I felt that I could not shrink from the post on that account. . . . This Annam [Tongking] affair may prove a very serious matter and a most unpleasant baptism into my new life. Both China and France, however, should do their best to avoid collision, which would be disastrous to each.' 1883 ÆT. 55

On the afternoon of the 6th September 1883 the *Tokio Maru* arrived at Shanghai. The wharf was crowded: people of all nations were gathered together to welcome the new British Minister, and among them were some who could remember what Harry Parkes had done in China twenty years—aye and forty—before. As soon as the steamer was moored, old friends and those who were soon to become friends stormed the upper deck, where 'his Excellency' was greeted with enthusiasm. As he stepped into his carriage to drive to the house of his host, the Crown Advocate (Mr H. S. Wilkinson),[1] the crowd saluted him with three ringing cheers. Such was his welcome back to the land of his youth.

At Mr Wilkinson's house representatives of the Chamber of Commerce assembled to bid the new Minister and old friend once more welcome to the 'Model Settlement' over which he had formerly reigned. In his reply to their address he touched on the distinguished ability of his predecessor Sir Thomas Wade, and went on:—

> Your good opinion, though formed upon too indulgent an estimate of my past services and qualifications for that post, will nevertheless materially aid me in fulfilling its duties, and it gives me pleasure to assure you that I am glad to have an opportunity of doing another day's work on the scene of my earlier service, and that nothing will be more gratifying to me than to lend a helping hand in promoting progressive movement in this country, and a closer union between foreigners and Chinese. Though I have been absent from China for eighteen years, I have not been unobservant of the

[1] See above, p. 170, note.

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changes that have been taking place here during that interval. Chinese and foreigners, I am happy to believe, have become better acquainted with each other, and better acquaintance means improved opportunities of rendering mutual benefit and assistance. Disinterested effort in the field of benevolent labour, and ready response to the cry of distress, will have proved to the people that foreigners have sympathies in common with their own. Western science and Western enterprise are beginning to be appreciated as a means of widely extending the industrial capacities of the people and thereby augmenting not only the productive resources of the country, but also the political importance of the nation; and I trust the time is not far distant when both rulers and people will see that the truest friendship is based upon a community of interest, and exclusiveness and reserve may be profitably replaced by free intercourse and active co-operation. . . . While I shall steadfastly strive to protect the rights and interests entrusted to my care, I shall also earnestly endeavour to cultivate the most friendly relations with this Government, and I confidently trust that that feeling will be reciprocated, and that it will not fail to lead to beneficial results.

On 14th September the new Minister left Shanghai on his voyage to Peking. The journey is described in a letter of his eldest daughter to her aunt:—

Miss Parkes to Miss Plumer Tien-tsin Sept. 18 1883

Yesterday we reached the entrance of the Peiho river, and then we had to take leave of the *Vigilant*, as she could not take us up the river—the bends and turns in it are so sharp,—and therefore we had to start afresh in another small gunboat, the *Kestrel*, also an old friend of ours. We had to get all the luggage quickly transferred, as there was no time to lose in getting over the bar and entering the river; so we had more good-byes to say and a fresh embarkation. We waved our handkerchiefs to the *Vigilant* people as long as we could see them, and then we felt our last bit of Japan

had gone, and we were beginning all afresh. It interested us very much seeing the Taku forts, the scene of so much of papa's work in early days, and we made him tell us about the taking of them: the Peh-tang fort he really took almost single-handed;[1] his energy, courage, and bravery must have been something marvellous, and I don't think we half realize what wonderful work he has done. Oh! we are not *half* proud enough of being his children and bearing his name. Have the boys ever read [Loch's] *Narrative of Events in China* or *Lord Elgin's Letters?* They *ought* to. 1883 ÆT. 51

The journey up the river was not interesting, I must say; muddy water, muddy banks, and low mud huts, everything of a uniform mud colour. We had a bright glorious afternoon, and when the sun set a lovely moon rose. We dined on board, and reached Tien-tsin about 8 o'clock. Mr Davenport, the Consul, came off to meet us. . . . We find the country all about here is so flooded that our journey to Peking in boats will take us seven days instead of four as we anticipated. . . . I enclose papa's speech at Shanghai in answer to the address; to-day is the anniversary of his capture twenty-three years ago!! Would it not have been strange if we had been at Peking?

Peking Oct. 3

We travelled up the river from Tien-tsin in little covered boats, small and quaint looking. . . . The views on the flat mud banks were not lovely, but now and then we came to pretty patches of green willows. . . . We reached Tung-chow on the fourth day, and had our first experience of a real Chinese city. The first sight that met us on the banks of the river were camels, a string of them slowly wending their way along, heavily laden with tea; it looked so Eastern compared to Japan. . . . Mr Grosvenor[2] had hurried

[1] See vol. i. p. 352.

[2] Hon. T. G. Grosvenor, Secretary of Legation, who had acted as Chargé d'Affaires up to Sir Harry's arrival. He died 8th November 1886.

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on and got horses for us to ride into Peking. We rode across the plain, part of which was covered with water from the recent flood. It is very flat all about Peking, but not so ugly or so bare as I thought it would be. There is some green and a few nice trees, and I even spied some little Michaelmas daisies. At last we came in sight of the walls of Peking. I must confess the first sight is not prepossessing; it looks dreary in the extreme, and rather prison-like, these high thick walls of gray brick. . . . I don't think any description could make you see Peking in your mind's eye, the picturesque, many-coloured houses, narrow streets, and, oh! such roads! I never saw such holes or such dust; you could not imagine a street could be so bad, unless you actually saw it. No attempt is made to improve them. People are certainly in a state of utter stagnation and perfectly indifferent to improvement of any kind. You miss so much, too, the kindly courtesy of the Japanese. The Chinese seem so very rough and sullen, and life to them is so intensely serious. The houses are simply filthy. I don't think you could put up in one for a night.

After riding for about half an hour we turned down a long dusty road and came in sight of the Legation walls, and finally turned in under the gateway, and found ourselves in front of our future home. All the Legation people were awaiting us; Mr Hillier, the Chinese Secretary; Mr Maude, the Second Secretary; Mr Pirkis, the Accountant; Mr Everard and Mr Scott, Assistants; that is the staff. . . . How can I describe the house to you? It is so utterly unlike anything we have seen or lived in before. It really was originally a series of Chinese temples, and has been adapted for the use of Europeans by having odd little rooms built on, at odd and inconvenient corners. The entrance is very fine: first come two courts, with handsome red pillars; the carving and painting of the roofs is very picturesque and the colouring really

beautiful. From the court you mount a flight of steps, and enter the hall, or Queen's room as it is called—her picture being there. It is used for the reception of the mandarins when they call, and is a fine square hall with a stained wooden floor, and window on either side of the door,—nice, bright, and sunny. At present it is very bare looking, but we must try to make it comfortable, and put some of the curios about, to give it a more inhabited appearance. On either side of the hall are two rooms; they are not very large, but face the south and get all the sun, and are therefore the most cheerful for sitting-rooms. The remainder of the house is divided and built round a stone court with shrubs in the centre. It looks bare and dreary at present, but I think if we can get a few flowers to grow, it will brighten it up and make it more cheery. . . . 1883 ÆT. 55

There are long corridors, which run all round the house,—great, bare, desolate places, which really look quite like a barn. On one side of the courtyard are the drawing-room and dining-room, both handsome rooms, the latter panelled half way up the wall and with open carved work over a red ground; it is rather sombre and dark looking. The drawing-room is also panelled. . . . The grounds here are small but very nice; each person has his little home, and it reminds me much of a cathedral close; it is very peaceful and quiet. . . .

Fancy! yesterday was the twenty-third anniversary of papa's and Mr Loch's release from prison, and we drove to see the place where they had been confined—such a miserable room in a little temple.[1] [Oct. 9]

If we are able to give but an imperfect sketch of Sir Harry Parkes' work as Minister at Peking, the reasons are easily explained. The *brouillons* or drafts of despatches, which ambassadors usually retain in their own possession, have not come into the possession of Sir Harry's representatives; and if they had, it is doubtful

[1] See vol. i. p. 387.

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whether much use could have been made of them in the present work. The despatches must have dealt with many questions still pending in China; they must have freely criticized Chinese officials who are still alive; and many of them must have related to the negotiations with France on the Tongking question, which form too recent history to be prudently discussed in the light of official papers. The very small number which are printed in the China Blue-Book (No. 1, 1885) is proof enough that Her Majesty's Government were not disposed to take the world into their confidence; and the biographer of a diplomatist is bound to be guided by the views of the Foreign Office in regard to the communications of a public servant acting under its authority. This enforced reticence is, however, the less to be regretted since there was probably little in Parkes' official work at Peking that reached finality or called for detailed notice. The period of his mission only lasted a year and a half—from September 1883 to March 1885—and of these eighteen months, between two and three were spent in Korea, where he concluded and ratified the Treaty which is the principal event of his China Mission. During a considerable part of the remaining fifteen months he was, as he expressed it, 'getting into the saddle,' and making himself conversant with the existing state of things in China; and, after that, beyond continual vigilance in securing the punishment of the riots and outrages due to the anti-foreign feeling stirred up by French aggression, his chief business was to watch the conflict with France, in the hope of an opportunity arising for ending it, and to safeguard the interests of Englishmen and English trade during this tumultuous time. His was essentially a 'watching brief': he had few opportunities for initiating reforms, and the times were not propitious for active interference.

A letter from Mr Grosvenor, the Chargé d'Affaires, had prepared him for a tranquil state of affairs at the Legation:—

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From Hon. T. G. Grosvenor Peking Aug. 28 1883

> Welcome to the shores of the land where years ago you made your name historically famous. . . . For your convenience I will prepare short memoranda of the leading cases: I am happy to say they are few in number. Some were taken home by Sir T. Wade last year,[1] and the out-turn of that operation has not yet reached this Legation. The two ports that most constantly apply for help are Foochow and Pakhoi. . . . I have experienced no difficulty since I have been in charge from any action taken by any of the Representatives of Foreign Powers. The U.S. Minister, Mr Young, is, as you doubtless know, very anxious to mediate between France and China *in re* Tongking, but, as far as I know, has met with little success.

In another part of this letter Mr Grosvenor asked for leave to go home, chiefly because he was 'very anxious to see my old father once more, and his great age teaches me that time passes.' As fate decreed, young Mr Grosvenor's promising career was cut short but three years later, whilst the father, Lord Ebury, whose years caused him such anxiety, only died in 1893, at the age of ninety-two. But it was impossible to foresee this inversion of the natural course of events, and Sir Harry, with his usual generosity, sanctioned Mr Grosvenor's departure as soon as he had returned from his visit to Korea.

That visit was really the one great event of his term of Minister in China. Mr Dickins has related the history of the negotiations which were carried on in Japan in regard to the unsealing of the 'Hermit State,' and it is necessary here only to refer to his narrative of Sir Harry's visit, which resulted in the conclusion of a 'model Treaty' in the space of a month.[2] The Treaty was

[1] Possibly this refers to the negotiations respecting *li-kin* (or internal barrier tax), especially on opium, at which Sir Thomas Wade had laboured ever since his Chefoo Convention of 1876 had met with so much criticism and opposition on the part of the Foreign Representatives and others. As far as can be gathered, Sir Harry Parkes did not take up this question: it was settled after his death by a conference in London in July 1885, when a heavy *li-kin* on opium was authorized in addition to the customs duty.

[2] See above, chap. xxxii. The Treaty is printed in Appendix (F).

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received with approbation in all quarters, except by Russia, who found herself forestalled in her designs of extending her influence from Vladivostok southwards. Mr (now Sir Philip) Currie, our present Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, who was then Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote (22nd February 1884): 'Your Treaty has given entire satisfaction, and we are very grateful to you for the admirable way in which you have managed the business, and for undertaking the hardships of a journey to Söul. An official approval goes to you to-day, and the Ratifications and Orders in Council are being got ready as quickly as possible. . . . The [Queen's] letter will be one of compliment and expression of satisfaction at establishment of relations, etc. I have chosen a silver box to contain it at Garrards, which is being gilt, and which will have an enormous coat of arms in relief. The ratification-seal box is also being gilt, so that you will be able, I hope, to astonish the King with the splendour of our boxes.'

As a result of the Treaty, Parkes was gazetted on 7th March 1884 as Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Korea, in addition to his China appointment; and on 21st April he left Shanghai on H.M.S. *Cleopatra*, accompanied by Mr Aston and Mr Hillier, to exchange the ratifications, and present Sir Philip Currie's astonishing boxes. In leaving Shanghai he parted for the last time, little as he thought it, with the younger of the two daughters who had been with him at Tokio and Peking. Mabel Parkes had been married in March to Mr Egerton Levett, Admiral Willes' Flag Lieutenant, and had come down to Shanghai with her father on her way back to England. His elder daughter, however, accompanied him to Korea, where the ratifications were exchanged on 28th April, and three days later he had his audience with the

The Korean Treaty negotiations of 1883 are described out of their proper chronological place, in deference to Mr Dickins' opinion that they form an integral part of the Japanese Eastern Foreign Policy discussed in chaps. xxxi., xxxii., in reference to Formosa, Loochoo, and Korea.

King, who was greatly pleased with him (and the gilt boxes), and after his departure constantly inquired when he would return. 1884 ÆT. 56

Whilst at Shanghai Sir Harry paid a visit to the Taotai on a matter of local business. Mr Herbert Giles accompanied him as interpreter, and an extract from his amusing account of the interview, communicated in a private letter, is worth quoting in illustration of the Minister's ways and views :—

> Sir Harry Parkes laid great stress on the necessity for keeping on good terms with the Chinese. 'We must respect their prejudices,' he said; 'it is idle to try to ride rough-shod over them.' I remember being particularly impressed with his sympathies in this direction; and I wondered if he often thought of what I was thinking of then—the Board of Punishments at Peking. Sir Harry Parkes then began to express regret for having put me to the trouble of accompanying him. 'My Chinese is rusty,' he said, 'and I shall be glad if you will help me.' But the amusing part was that, when we reached the Taotai's yamun, throughout the interview Sir Harry Parkes did the whole of his talking himself. His was scarcely the cast of mind to endure the wearisomeness of interpretation where nothing vital was at stake. He rattled gaily on, after the old school of Chinese speakers, with a very limited vocabulary and utter disregard of tones. . . . One could not but feel that he was a man who would quickly take up a definite position on a given question and defend that position to the death. The Taotai treated him with marked deference. . . . The appointment of Sir Harry Parkes as H.B.M.'s Minister sent a thrill through the China Consular Service. It was regarded as the dawn of a new era, and each individual member felt as though a great bulwark of strength had been raised up, on which he might surely and safely rely.

A good deal had happened at Peking during the second visit to Korea. A veritable *coup d'état* had been effected

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by the Empress Regent; and the preliminaries of peace with France had been signed. To understand how this came about a very few words must be said about the doings of the French in Tongking. Acting on a Treaty of 1874, the French had taken measures in 1882 to drive away the Annamese 'Black Flags,' who were said to be illegally interfering with trade on the Red River. Unfortunately Commander Rivière, who was directing the operations, fell into an ambush near Hanoi, and was killed. To avenge his death fresh troops were sent out; and meanwhile China, who had long exercised the rights of suzerainty over the kingdom of Annam, protested against the continued invasion of her vassal's territory. Nevertheless the French took several places and generally, but not always, succeeded in defeating the Annamese. The death of the King of Annam, in July 1883, offered an opportunity, of which Dr Harmand the French Commissioner took instant advantage; Huć was occupied, and a Treaty concluded there practically announced a French Protectorate. Negotiations, carried on both at Paris and Peking, came to nothing, and when M. Jules Ferry became Foreign Minister, one began to hear of a French 'colonial policy' and a future 'colonial empire.' In vain the Chinese offered to accept the division suggested[1] by Sir Harry Parkes, by which they would surrender the territory south of the Red River. M. Ferry demanded Son-tai and Bak-ninh, north of the proposed line; and Admiral Courbet carried the former fortress by assault, after a stubborn defence, on the 16th December 1883.[2]

These successes spread a gloom over the Chinese, and in Peking the superstitious people began to notice strange portents. In the Imperial city, just outside the palace walls, stands the Temple of Imperial Ancestors, where the tablets

[1] See below, p. 386, 390.

[2] See Mr BOULGER'S *Short History of China* (1893) and some able articles in the *London and China Telegraph*, 2nd January 1884, etc., and the *North China Daily News*, 19th December 1883, etc.

of all the bygone Emperors of the dynasty are ranged in order. Night after night a sound of wailing was heard in the shrine, and the crash of falling cenotaphs. The tablets still stood in their places in the morning, yet the same solemn moan was heard again at night; and, as if in confirmation, wailing issued from the distant tombs where the Emperors lie buried. A credulous folk easily perceived in these omens a disastrous portent for the Manchu dynasty. The zeal of the French rose in proportion to the discouragement of the Chinese. Large sums were voted in the Chamber; the military operations, which were never declared to be war, were pushed on with vigour by General Millot; and in March Bak-ninh shared the fate of Son-tai. Bak-ninh had been defended by Chinese troops, and the celestial Minister at Paris had declared that an attack upon it would be regarded as an act of war. At first the Chinese seemed really about to take the matter up vigorously and prove that they were not the *quantité négligeable* which M. Challemel Lacour thought them; for the news of the fall of Bak-ninh was followed by a sudden thunderclap in ministerial circles. The Empress Regent took personal action and of her own motion deprived the Prince of Kung and several other Ministers of all their offices, and imposed condign punishment upon all who were responsible for the failure in Tongking. There was a panic among the mandarins: no man knew when his own turn of disgrace would come. To the foreigners, however, the change was welcome. The 'insolence of the Yamun had become intolerable,' as one official remarked, and anything would be better than the old Board which had resisted all Sir Thomas Wade's persuasions and made every Minister's life a perpetual scene of wrangling and irritation. The new Ministry, headed by Prince Chun (father of the Emperor), was believed to mean business, and even a war policy was better than the shilly-shallying between peace and war which had paralyzed trade and disturbed all relations with China for the last year or two. But these favourable anticipations were

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soon dispelled. Instead of gaining strength by the change of Ministers, the war party at Peking appeared to have lost all influence. During Sir Harry's absence in Korea Mr Maude took charge of the Legation, and the following letters to his chief announced the collapse of the spirited policy which the fall of Bak-ninh had temporarily excited in the Government :—

From C. T. Maude Peking April 29 1884

Before you open this letter you will probably have heard of the complete surrender—as it appears at present—of the war party here. For the last few days there have been rumours that the Chinese had given in, and I asked Everard to inquire at the Yamun,[1] when he went there yesterday afternoon about the Dudgeon placard,[2] whether there was any truth in a report that Li Hung-Chang was appointed to treat with the French Admiral. Rather to my surprise he told me on his return that the Secretaries had acknowledged that it was true. As, however, nearly everything said at the Yamun of late has turned out to be false I did not think it safe to telegraph this news to the Foreign Office without testing it, so I called on Sir Robert Hart. I told him what I had heard, and asked him if he could confirm it. He avoided a direct answer to my question, saying he had not been to the Yamun lately ; but admitted in conversation that he believed the Chinese meant to yield, and that the new Ministers would turn out to be even less warlike than their predecessors. I asked if this was attributable to what they had learnt since they had been in office, and to their having influenced the Empress and what had always been considered the war party in the palace. He said, No : the Empress, who was a sensible woman, had been misrepresented as desirous to go to war with France ; she had dismissed her recent advisers for not informing her of the fall of Bak-ninh directly they received the news ; and the decrees punishing the mandarins were merely intended

[1] The Tsung-li Yamun, or Chinese Foreign Office.
[2] A scurrilous broadside attacking that medical missionary.

as a lesson to military men:—Prince Chun too was an intelligent man, and was quite far-sighted enough to perceive that China was unfit to go to war. 1884 ÆT. 56

From C. T. Maude Peking May 1

Semallé[1] tells me that he knows nothing of the movements of the French fleet, and that the only information he can give as authentic is that M. Patenôtre, who left Marseilles on the 27th for Hué, is to arrange there the terms of the French protectorate over Annam. He will not come to Peking, nor will the French Government treat with the Chinese, unless the latter are ready to accept as a basis of negotiation a recognition of the French occupation of Tongking, as it is now held by them, and their protectorate over the whole of Annam, together with the withdrawal of the Minister Tsêng from Paris. Semallé believes that Commandant Fournier is trying to sound Li Hung-Chang as to the desire of the Chinese Government to treat, but this is not on information received from Paris. He believes the endeavour, if it exists, to be purely *officieux*, and that the issue will not affect French policy. The idea in Paris is to allow the Chinese to do as they like as to coming to a definite arrangement. The French Government do not want to press them should they not interfere with the *status quo*. France is master of the situation in Tongking, and unless she is disturbed by the Chinese she will not trouble them. . . .

Dr Dudgeon told me two days ago that a high official had told him there would be no difficulty in arranging the Tongking question, and the idea that a settlement is probable seems to have been diligently spread.

To this pacific disposition, but still more to the initiative of the great Viceroy, was due the Li-Fournier Convention of 11th May 1884, signed at Tien-tsin by Li Hung-Chang on behalf of China and by Captain Fournier (in spite of M. Semallé's doubts) for France, by which China engaged to withdraw her garrisons

[1] French Chargé d'Affaires at Peking.

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from Tongking and to admit foreign trade, whilst France undertook to protect the Tongking frontier and 'refrain from any overt insult to the fiction of Chinese suzerainty.'[1] Whether this agreement did or did not fix the dates for the evacuation of the Tongking fortresses (a point which has been keenly debated), it is certain that Colonel Dugenne, in attempting to occupy Langson, was driven back by the Chinese in the Bak-li pass with heavy loss. This repulse (which was apparently justified by the Chinese commander's want of instructions) of an attack which (according to the Chinese) was not warranted by the agreement of 11th May, led to a renewal of hostilities, and the demand by the French of a preposterous indemnity. The Chinese went so far (16th July) as to offer still to carry out the Li-Fournier convention, and to pay £125,000 as compensation to the relatives of the slain at Langson; but M. Ferry indignantly refused all compromise, and began to carry the war into the enemy's country. The French first seized Kilung in Formosa (5th August), and then, after entering behind the fortifications of the river Min in the character of a friendly Power, treacherously bombarded the arsenal of Foochow (23rd August). Meanwhile Li Fong-Pao, the Acting Minister to France, had hauled down the Chinese flag at Paris, and M. Semallé, after presenting an ultimatum, which included an extravagant demand for an indemnity of 80,000,000 francs, lowered the French flag of the Legation at Peking, and left the capital (21st August).

All this time war had never been declared, and this anomalous situation was full of inconvenience for the neutral Powers. Properly speaking, indeed, there were no neutral Powers, for, where no war is, there can be no neutrality. As a matter of fact the French and the Chinese made use of English ports or English ships, and supplied themselves with munitions of war and stores from English firms; and then each rounded upon us for helping the other, and committing a 'breach of neutrality.' If the

[1] See *London and China Telegraph*, 6th January 1885.

rights of belligerents are to be enforced upon neutral Powers, war must first be declared, and then strict neutrality can be insisted on. As it was, all that the European non-combatant Powers could do was to establish a general understanding between their admirals for the protection of their subjects in the foreign concessions at the different ports of China. Meanwhile trade was at a standstill, the rivers were partly blocked, and the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce vainly petitioned for the neutralization of the port, which was clearly impossible unless the Powers were prepared to repel the entrance of warships by force. A letter from Sir Harry to Mr Hughes, whose post had lately been raised to that of Consul-General at Shanghai, gives some general views on the situation :— 1884 ÆT. 56

To Consul-General Hughes Sept. 14

I have yours up to the 8th and your telegram of the 11th, reporting that the Chamber of Commerce have written about the river and pressing for neutralization. I am afraid little can be done to secure the latter in a form that would be thoroughly effective ; for neither Chinese nor French would observe any voluntary neutralization beyond a point that would accord with their individual convenience ; and if it is to be effected by the action of the neutral Powers, the latter must be prepared to take Shanghai into their hands and *compel* both French and Chinese to observe a strict neutrality. Thus French ships of war could not be permitted to enter the river, nor could the Chinese be permitted to make Shanghai a base of troops, ships, or supplies, to be used against the French. We should have to prevent French ships of war coming for coals or supplies, and equally to prevent the shipment of munitions of war from Shanghai in foreign vessels by the Chinese— which means *search*, etc. Such action on the part of the neutral Powers would be most unusual and would please neither France nor China. It could only be brought about by prolonged negotiation in Europe, and such armed interference could only be justified by stronger reasons than the Chamber of Commerce, I am

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afraid, would be able to supply. In short, I should say it would be vain to look for it.

I am in hopes that there will now be a lull in these quasi-hostilities, because I do not see what the French can do next. Perhaps they will try to occupy the north of Formosa — perhaps they might turn their attention to Hainan. But I doubt their being willing to attack Port Arthur in the North, Nanking in the Centre, or the Bogue forts in the South. They would get hard knocks at all these places—much harder than they have yet encountered at Kilung or on the Min, where they were able to gain a commanding position by a course that was little less than treacherous. And their ill-considered and ineffective action has certainly failed. What, therefore, will they do next? Make war? A *corps d'armée* is necessary to subdue Peking, and when can France put a *corps d'armée* in the field? Certainly not this year, and the effort she would have to make would prove such a strain upon her resources and weaken her so seriously in Europe that I do not feel at all assured that she would care to make the attempt. She may cool down between this and the spring and see that the game is not worth the candle. If she liked to do so, she could now cry quits, say that she had thrashed the Chinese for their treachery at Langson, and take a commercial Treaty as compensation for expenses, and in order to give the world a proof of the noble generosity of France, etc. But if we are to have war, possibly the neutral Powers might urge France to except Shanghai and the Yang-tsze from the field of operations, though I doubt whether France would agree to do so.

Parkes' anticipation was realized. A prolonged lull took place in the quarrel with France; Langson was not occupied until February 1885; the French were driven back again in March; and France, having at last discovered that 'the game was not worth the candle,' in the face of the vigorous resistance of China, made peace on

9th June. Apparently the British Minister had little to do with the Tongking question in the few months that remained to him. But if he had little connexion directly with the French difficulty, the consequences of that aggression kept him constantly in anxiety. The anti-foreign feeling stirred up by the French attacks on Foochow and Formosa found expression in other riots and outrages besides that at Canton[1] in 1883. 1884 ÆT. 56

To Consul-General Hughes July 26

I think you are very well off at Shanghai for protection. Foochow I am anxious about, as only very small vessels can get up there. Canton, Foochow, Hankow, and Tien-tsin are the points that give care. However, I think all the ports are being well looked after by Sir William Dowell. The Legations alone can receive no protection and must take their chance, but a Peking mob, or such idiots as Tso Tsung-tang and those fools of the war party, are no more to be depended on than the mob of Canton. Chinese pride will have its fall, but the fall will carry great resentment with it, and they are sufficiently demented or indifferent to consequences to prevent the growth of bitter feeling. ——, prompted by interested speculators, has been writing a great deal of rubbish about the great progress to be initiated—which is pure invention, the re-echoes of the remarks of one or two placemen . . . who make them to please the foreigners who are perpetually boring them on the subject of railways, etc.

Shanghai was efficiently protected by its own volunteers and the presence of vessels of war; but Wênchow was more out of the beat of the fleet, and had no local defenders. In September 1884 there were signs of anti-foreign feeling at that usually well-conducted and particularly well-kept port, as the following amusing letter from the Consul to Sir Harry shows:—

From E. H. Parker[2] Wênchow Sept. 6

The events which have taken place during the past ten days, though of a nature to cause general uneasiness, border so closely upon the ridiculous that I think it

[1] See p. 388.

[2] Now Consul at Kiung-chow.

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hardly necessary to place them on official record; at the same time I cannot help thinking you would like to know, and I trust to be excused.

Directly the steamer left, positive statements were made that 3000 converts were concealed in the Italian priest's establishment, and were to massacre everybody on Sunday. The magistrate called on me for advice. I recommended him to visit the place with some gentry, which he did. It ended in Mr d'Arnoux and myself inducing Père Procacci to put off service on Sunday and send round messages to his converts, fifty in all.

Last year's contributions for coast defence having gone into the pockets of the retiring magistrate, the present magistrate found it impossible to extract a cash from the people, who were accordingly ordered, each householder, to bring a load of stones to the steamer wharf. Another stupid order was that each house should burn a light all night. The silly people are at their wits' ends with fright at all this, and of course blame foreigners. The authorities are feeble and incompetent, and afraid of the people. I think that my walking through the city every day, and our all playing lawn-tennis on an open space in the city, has perhaps done as much to keep things quiet as anything. Mr ——, a missionary, was attacked at Pingyang a week ago, and again in Wênchow, but as his appearance almost invites rudeness, and as he lodged no complaint, I took no steps. Mr d'Arnoux has also been insulted in the streets several times, and the tidewaiters have been stoned by the soldiers. Strange to say, though all this has taken place, wherever I go I find the people quiet and respectful both inside and outside, soldiers and civilians. I have been to see Mr Procacci, and recommended him to postpone services for a time. At the Taotai's request I have also requested Mr —— to cease for a time his weekly visits to Pingyang.

The gates are now closed at dusk, and only opened after dawn: this of course is a uselessly exciting step.

I declined the magistrate's proposal to remove Mr Procacci and his school to this island—(1) because he was not a Frenchman; (2) because I was neither French nor Italian Consul; (3) because he must be protected, and the people would only grow more saucy if he gave way; (4) because he is quite harmless. 1884 ÆT. 56

Placards have been freely posted calling upon the people to massacre (1) the Catholics, (2) me, (3) all foreigners, (4) the mandarins, and so forth, but the Catholics are very active, and soon tear them down. They then come through Procacci and Mr d'Arnoux to me, and I send them in confidence to the Taotai. Consequently, without any agency appearing, a silent war is carried on against the mischievous.

There is now a rumour that 2000 heavily armed Catholics are marching on us from Foochow. However, excellent proclamations are up, no one (but the natives) is seriously uneasy, and I don't think anything will happen.

The blocking operations are a pitiable failure: everything is swept away as soon as put down.

In informing the senior naval officer of the blocking, I have stated that 'I see no reason for asking him for a boat, yet, if convenient, a look-in would do no harm, *if the boat can come up to the town.*' The reason why I have inserted the last sentence is that otherwise a rumour would at once be started that a French man [of war] was there, and then that she, or the fleet, had been sunk, or had left with terrific loss.

The latest news confirming the complete defeat of the Chinese will I think tend to cow the people more, for the persistent rumours of victory circulated by the Shanghai native press do harm in elating them and making them impudent.

The civil authorities continue excellently disposed. I am not perfectly certain about the military.

On the night of the 4th of October the disquieting symptoms at Wênchow came to a crisis. A riot took

1884 Æt. 56 place, in which the foreign buildings in the city were destroyed, though the foreign settlement and Consulate, being on an island, escaped, owing to the forethought of the officials, who took all the boats away. No lives were lost, but the damage to property was considerable. 'Wênchow,' wrote Sir Harry, 'is the last place at which I should have expected the people to run *amok* against foreigners generally, and I am most thankful that no lives have been lost.' 'We must make the local authorities do their duty, and the missionaries must be protected.' To do them justice the Chinese Government were not slow to offer redress. The ringleaders of the riot were severely punished, and adequate money compensation was given for the injuries inflicted by the mob.

CHAPTER XLI

DIPLOMACY AT PEKING

1883–1884

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THE anti-foreign feeling displayed in riots among the common people was fully shared by the Government at Peking, but took a different form. Instead of burning houses and frightening missionaries' wives, the Ministers amused themselves with tormenting the Foreign Representatives. Masters of the art of procrastination, they drove business-like Envoys to despair with their interminable delays and ceaseless flow of talk. To get a decision from the Tsung-li Yamun, said Parkes, was 'like trying to draw water from a well with a bottomless bucket.' Always obstinate and impervious to reasoning, the vacillations of the French (who in the summer of 1884 were chaffering over the amount of indemnity to be extorted from China, like an old Peking dealer in curiosities) encouraged the Chinese to take a high tone with the Foreign Ministers, and to do their utmost to thwart them in petty details. They grew utterly reckless of the consequences of continued contumacy, and in their incurable shuffling seemed, as Parkes remarked, to take a positive 'pleasure in hanging their heads over a precipice.' But it was no pleasure to Sir Harry to have dealings with them in this mood. He was the special mark for their irritating assaults.

There is no doubt that the Chinese officials, when they first heard of his appointment to Peking, were firmly

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convinced that he would re-enact his old masterful policy and do his utmost to humble their pride. He said himself, when his transference to Peking was first mooted, that he should not be surprised if the Chinese objected to receive him; and although no such objection was made (as I am able to state on the best authority), it is certain that he began his diplomatic service in China in the face of a strong prejudice. Like Sangkolinsin in 1860, the Chinese 'knew his name well,' and regarded him as the author of the disasters and humiliations of the Second War. The leading statesman of the Empire, indeed, Li Hung-Chang, who was in 1883 Viceroy of the province of Chih-Li and resided at Tien-tsin, was perhaps an exception to this general prejudice. He had had many a passage of arms with Parkes in 1864, and was to have many more again; but he was great enough to respect his adversary, and, in words at least, he professed himself pleased with Sir Harry's appointment. In a conversation recorded by Mr Davenport, Consul at Tien-tsin, it was reported that Viceroy Li was 'very much pleased' with Sir Harry's conversation during their interview on the journey up to Peking in September. He said he would be glad to correspond with the British Minister 'on intimate terms,' and added that 'it would be a great feather in *Pa Tajin's* cap if he should succeed in settling the Annam question.' It is clear that Parkes had already felt his way towards a reconciliation between France and China, for it is hinted that Li 'would not really object to the division suggested by Sir Harry, of a line drawn half-way between lat. 21° and 22°, but he did not venture to say that it was acceptable at once.' Whether Li afterwards pursued the same conciliatory policy towards the British Minister may be questioned; but it is certain that the Tsung-li Yamun, or Board for Foreign Affairs, which had been established at Peking as soon as European Representatives made their unwelcome appearance there in 1860, did their utmost to thwart and irritate Sir Harry whenever they found an opportunity.

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We hear of high words at the Yamun soon after the Minister's arrival, and it was said that the Chinese specially picked out a truculent ill-tempered mandarin to badger Parkes at their Board. A large mass of evidence goes to show that the Tsung-li Yamun had grown more and more arrogant as the years went by. If Parkes had been the first Minister at Peking after the war of 1860 we may be sure that they would never have been 'given their heads'; but the Home Government had shrunk from strong measures in dread of provoking an unpopular war; the English Representatives had received but lukewarm support; and matters had been allowed to get into a condition which not even Parkes' energy and masterful will could mend all at once. He was himself, as he told a friend of the writer, 'bitterly disappointed' when he discovered how little progress had been made with the mandarins since he had left China. His disappointment was aggravated by obstruction and even insult at the Tsung-li Yamun. They laid a trap to catch him, 'baited by Chang Pei-lun, who was told off to goad him into losing his temper and committing himself by some act which would justify a demand for his recall. I was present,' writes my informant, 'on the memorable occasion when the attempt came off. A sneering and insulting remark was made by this Chang Pei-lun, which Sir Harry naturally resented with vehemence; whereupon the whole Board roared at him in unison, declared that his manners were intolerable, and that they would not discuss matters with him again.[1] Sir Harry turned the tables on them in a masterly manner, and by his calm demeanour during the row that ensued, put the Yamun entirely in the wrong and forced them to apologize.' All the same they attempted to procure his recall by representations at Downing Street. Fortunately he had anticipated this

[1] He was not the only Foreign Representative who suffered from the insolence of Chang Pei-lun. Herr von Brandt informs me that on his return to Peking in May 1884 he heard from several of his colleagues of scenes at the Yamun, similar to that described above, in which they had been the victims.

1883 ÆT. 55 move, and his telegraphic report enabled the Foreign Secretary to refute the charges laid against him by the Chinese Minister. He refers to the matter quietly in a private letter: 'After a long wrestle with the Yamun I succeeded almost unexpectedly in regularly throwing them. They had tried to undermine me at home, and they failed.'

The 'wrestle' was about the 'Shameen claims,' which had given Sir Harry an amount of trouble totally out of proportion to their importance. The origin of the claims was a riot at Canton, where a Chinaman had been shot, under provocation, by a tidewaiter named Logan; and the ill-feeling thus excited had been brought to a head on 10th September 1883 by the drowning of another Chinaman, who was accidentally pushed overboard by a Portuguese watchman whilst trying to force his way on board a steamer. The mob attacked the steamer, and when the vessel cast off her moorings and escaped, they turned their fury upon Shameen, the British settlement on the river bank, and burnt and looted more than a dozen houses, before they were driven back by the foreign residents, who had quickly armed themselves. A thousand Chinese troops were presently sent by the Viceroy, Shameen was patrolled, two gunboats arrived from Hongkong, and the danger was speedily over. But not so the anxiety and worry consequent upon the disturbance, nor the ensuing claims for compensation. The trial of Logan, who got seven years' hard labour, threatened to revive the excitement, and Mr Wilkinson, the British Assessor, had a difficult task to perform. The punishment satisfied the Viceroy, but not the people, who demanded 'a life for a life;' and Shameen had to be rigorously guarded for some months. Although this unpleasant affair at the City of Rams took place in 1883, when Parkes had just arrived in China, the claims for damages were not paid until he had 'wrestled' with the Yamun for a year.

The following extract from a letter to Mr Wilkinson

shows how much he was annoyed by the policy of the Yamun :— 1884 ÆT. 56

To H. S. Wilkinson Aug. 10 1884

> These Shameen claims and several others of two, three, and four years' standing . . . have really embittered my life, and given me a great deal of heavy, uninteresting, and unfruitful labour, while for lack of evidence or other pretexts they—the Yamun—could easily foil or answer me. They delight in engaging in a correspondence. You gain nothing by giving them the opportunity of doing so, and perhaps less by your other alternative, that of going to the Yamun and having a discussion with eight or ten men who all like to speak at once, and who, when refuted, just repeat all they have said before. In some respects it is a question of physical endurance, and if you are not in good condition the struggle is trying. But for certain reasons I have made progress lately, and am anxious to settle these troublesome claims before the tide turns again.

He did settle them, after infinite trouble, by the sheer force of that pertinacity which so often stood him in good stead when dealing with mandarins ; but it is not surprising to hear that his temper suffered in the process. Li Hung-Chang confided to one of our Consuls (Mr Davenport) the impression that Sir Harry 'did not talk in accordance with *Tao-li*,' *i.e.* reasonably.[1] The Consul's answer was sharp and straight: 'I replied that a Chinaman's idea of *Tao-li* was his own side of the question ; the foreigner's side he never troubled to listen to or understand ; that the members of the Yamun never attempted to *pan* [settle], but only to *pienpo* [controvert], and so nothing could be done ; and that talking to the members of the Yamun was about as useful as addressing a row of books.' It should be added that in December 1884 Li expressed to Mr Davenport his personal in-

[1] The meaning evidently is, as Sir Thomas Wade has pointed out to me, that Parkes was charged with being dictatorial, *intraitable ;* of laying down the law, instead of reasoning with the Yamun.

1884 Æt. 56 debtedness to Sir Harry, who had 'shown himself a good friend to China in sending home the propositions of the Yamun in regard to the French question.' The Chinese Government had, in fact, handed him their counter-proposals in November, to be communicated to the French Government through our Foreign Office.

It may be questioned whether Europe gained any such great advantages as had been anticipated when argument by Consuls at the ports was exchanged for diplomatic representations to the Foreign Board by Ministers at Peking. We are prone to imagine that because a system answers well in one country it must necessarily succeed in all, and consistency and uniformity are apt to possess a fallacious charm to official eyes. The old plan had its merits, however: a Consul could use and execute threats with a minor official at a Treaty port which would be out of place in a diplomatic interview with an exalted Minister at Peking, and very often the Consul got his way more quickly than the Envoy Extraordinary. Both Consul and Taotai could be disavowed by their respective Governments, and strong language in minor officials did not necessarily involve serious consequences. The Tsung-li Yamun, or Board specially constituted for relations with the Foreign Representatives, is the true 'Circumlocution Office': its object is to delay, and harass, and obstruct whatever the Foreign Ministers seek to accomplish; and although in certain cases the utility of an appeal to a supreme central authority has been demonstrated, in a good many others the Board has proved a mere Dead Letter Office, where the best schemes and the soundest arguments were doomed to be buried in a storm of noisy and irritating verbiage. The following sketch of 'Diplomacy at Peking,' which appeared in the *Times*,[1] is scarcely overdrawn:—

> In their war of resistance to the legal demands of the foreign Legations the Chinese mainly rely on two potent allies, time and fatigue. The Chinese Ministers are

[1] Letter from Shanghai Correspondent, dated 12th September 1884.

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many; the foreigner is one. In order to reach the Yamun he has performed an arduous journey such as would not, perhaps, appal Mr Archibald Forbes or Mr H. M. Stanley, but for all that not without peril. The streets of Peking are less safe for travel than an ordinary open roadless country. As landscape the broken surface would be picturesque, were the effect not spoiled by the rows of houses on either side. The vast cesspools—it would be an unpardonable euphemism to call them quagmires—of unknown depth through which your wheels, if you have the temerity to trust yourself to the cart of the country, must go are dangerous after rain until evaporation reduces the fluid filth to its dry weather level. The only 'work' they do is to excavate the sewers during the hot weather, not indiscriminately, but choosing the front of some well-to-do shop to make their trench. The shopmaster resents the attention—his cats fall into the hole and are poisoned, and his customers are unable to approach the door. 'Why not,' he says, 'dig your hole somewhere else?' 'Why not, indeed?' replies the inspector as he pockets his £20 note and proceeds to repeat the experiment on some other victim.

By the time the foreign Minister has accomplished two miles of such travel, no matter what his conveyance has been, he is in a condition very favourable to being baited by the Yamunites. They commence by the delicate *plaisanterie* of offering refreshments which they know their visitor will not touch, and the attendants know the art of killing time by bringing in the repast, dish by dish, with infinite fuss and ceremony. The visitor meanwhile sits more or less patiently on a hard seat in a cheerless room, grimy with venerable dirt, the north wind moaning through the crevices. Fortunately the etiquette of the country permits the hat to be kept on, and necessity compels the visitor to wear a thick ulster with the fur-lined collar turned up to cover the ears if it be winter. At last, when the

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melon-seeds and sugar-plums have been distributed in saucers all over the only table on which the foreigner would have liked to spread his papers, business is supposed to commence, half an hour having been happily consumed in arranging the sweetmeats. 'And now,' observes the visitor, 'what is your answer about the robbery of merchandise belonging to Mr Smith at Nam-Kwei, and the beating of his servants for refusing to pay the illegal extortions of the officials?' One of their rules is that no one shall speak first. So they take sidelong glances at each other and keep silence until one bolder than the rest opens his mouth, as much to the surprise as the relief of his comrades, who watch the reckless man in the hope that he will drop something which may serve hereafter to put a sting into some surreptitious charge against him. What he does say is, 'Take some of these walnuts; they come from the prefecture of Long-way, which was celebrated by the poets of Tang for the excellence of its fruit.' Then follows a discussion on the merits of walnuts, which is, however, not nearly such excellent fooling as Lord Granville's discourse on tea-roses to the gentleman who sought an interview with him on some important question connected with China, but it fulfils the same purpose. When they do speak they all speak at once, and like Mr Puff's friends, their unanimity is something wonderful and their courage rises to heroism. What they do say can, of course, be neither understood nor answered. So much the better, since the time has been killed with the arrows of controversy still in the quiver. The foreign Minister's lips begin to grow pale, and other signs of exhaustion warn the courageous ones that it is time to shout louder if haply they may stun their auditor with sheer noise. A drawn battle. Some of the foreign Ministers go but seldom to the Yamun, entrusting their routine business to their interpreters or dragomans, who being mostly in the prime of life are better able to support the rigours of the Yamun work.

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And these gentlemen are sometimes more successful than their chiefs, since it is very much a question of physical endurance. They learn to overcome obstruction by using the weapons of obstruction, and when not restricted to time they wear out the Yamun instead of being worn out by them. One of these interpreters, who belonged to a Legation that had little to do, informed me how he managed the Yamun. He would discourse on the merits of the walnuts and melon-seeds till the Chinese Ministers themselves were fain to change the subject. Then he would entertain the Yamun with the gossip of the outer world, which, within the walls of Peking, sounds like the far-off echoes from a land of fable. In this pleasant manner he would consume two hours of their time, or more, without as yet touching on the subject of his visit. Only after the Chinese Ministers were fatigued would he begin to talk business. Whereupon they would plead pressing engagements, and beg him to postpone the matter till another day. 'Only till to-morrow,' he would reply; and on the next day he would again deliberately kill two hours with trivialities, and again bring on the subject of his own business when the Ministers were weary. After a not very long course of this procedure the Chinese perceived they had caught a Tartar, and began themselves to introduce business at the commencement of the interview, and all went smoothly thereafter. . . .

Referring to the little that a Foreign Minister could accomplish with such diplomatists, the correspondent adds:—

Even in the present crisis the Yamun holds as much aloof as ever from the diplomatic body, whose members are just as much puzzled by the various phases of the controversy with France, and as little able to gauge the true intentions of the Government, as the blindest guesser of us all. But . . . even now, were they to speak with one voice, they would be able to guide the

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counsels of China into the way of peace. Unfortunately the assumed community of interest among the Powers proves unequal to the strain of any serious policy. Russia has never affected to make common cause with the other Powers in China, her interest in the Chinese being the same as in the Turkish Empire—disintegration and appropriation. Russia never fights China, but mutilates her quietly when she is at death-grips with some other foe. M. Popoff will leave Peking before the ice sets in, and take up his quarters in Hongkong, where his communications will be open. Mr von Brandt, the German Minister, whose health is not good, has spent the whole summer at a monastery some forty miles from Peking. The only two active Ministers left are the British and American. The United States dropped, as soon as it had served its end, the 'co-operative policy' invented for a special occasion by their former Representative, Burlingame, and they now candidly avow that they have no interests in China in common with any European Power, while at the same time they declare their determination to make themselves the predominant factor in the future foreign relations with China. There remains the British Minister as the only one practically concerned about peace, and he is isolated in Peking, as his Government is isolated in Europe. Nor only so, but the English nation, which has in the past done so much to establish her commercial supremacy in China, has been growing indifferent to that position, and in what may prove to be the supreme crisis in the fate of the Chinese Empire is willing to stand aside and see it, as well as Burmah and Siam, parcelled out among those whose commercial policy is wholly inimical both to England and to China.

Of course the system of diplomatic representation at Peking, where the Minister was strictly under the control of his Foreign Office, took away a great deal of his personal influence. The British communities in China

expected great things from a man of Sir Harry's reputation and past achievements; but they forgot that in modern diplomacy the telegraph wire destroys the Ambassador's power of initiative, and that negotiations begin in Downing Street and not at the Peking Legation. The game of foreign politics is thus played on general grounds, and not on the basis of special considerations affecting British interests in China; and the Minister is to a great extent helpless to carry his own points. Nevertheless Sir Harry made his influence felt at the Tsung-li Yamun to a greater degree than the *Times* correspondent supposed. Mr Hillier, who was Chinese Secretary at the Legation, is the best possible authority on this subject, and he writes of his Chief[1]— 1884 ÆT. 56

> Having once made up his mind to a certain course of action, he was like a bull-dog in his tenacity; he would never let go of his case. It was this feature of his character that made the Chinese fear him as well as dislike him, for there is no denying the fact that he was not popular with them. All the same he got more out of them than any one else. When he came up to Peking there was a long list of unsettled claims that had been under discussion for years, but they all went down like ninepins before his indomitable energy and were settled in desperation by the authorities of the Tsung-li Yamun, who knew they would have no peace until they had given in.

Speaking of his fearlessness in accepting responsibility Mr Hillier adds—

> I never saw him more cheerful or in better spirits than when he found himself in a tight corner from which there was apparently no escape. He honoured me with his entire confidence while I served under him as Chinese Secretary, and I think I may say that he had an underlying motive in all he said and did. It was a study to watch his negotiations with the Tsung-li Yamun, the bugbear of every Foreign Representative. He would

[1] In a letter to me, dated 20th December 1893.

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lead up to his subject in ways that appeared most roundabout; but when he got there, it was evident that his line of country was studied beforehand, and all the efforts and interruptions of the united force of the Board could not swerve him from the track. He met a *non possumus*, the invariable answer of the Yamun to any demand, with perfect good temper, and would begin all his arguments over again, until the Ministers in sheer weariness would cry 'Enough.' He would then smilingly suggest an adjournment till the next day, and resume his arguments till a compromise was effected—*the* compromise that he had always intended to accept. It takes a deal to tire out a Chinese, but Sir Harry could do it through sheer perseverance.

Mr Hillier would probably say that Sir Harry's manner with the Yamun was perhaps a little out of date, and belonged to the old days of consular intimidation, rather than to the new *régime* of would-be smooth diplomatic intercourse with high officials at the capital. But in spite of some disregard of the *suaviter in modo*, it is remarkable that Parkes got his way, and not only that, but maintained on the whole friendly relations with the Yamun, the President of which with three other members actually dined with him on the Queen's Birthday in 1884—a condescension utterly unprecedented in the history of China.

The following extracts from his despatches to Lord Granville[1] will show the successful manner in which he induced the Peking authorities to insist on the suppression of anti-foreign demonstrations at Canton and elsewhere.

To Earl Granville Peking Aug. 15 1884

I enclose a copy of a note which I addressed to the Prince and Ministers of the Tsung-li Yamun on receiving an unfavourable report from Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Canton relative to the disposition of the populace of that city after the collision between the French and Chinese at Langson became known. This

[1] Published in *Parl. Papers*, 1885, China, No. 1 [C. 4245], p. 55-77.

occurrence seemed to have revived much ill-will against foreigners, and also a strong desire for war with France, and the officials appeared indisposed to check either of these feelings. Foreigners were now frequently insulted in the streets, and Mr Butler, the Assistant of the Consulate, felt it unsafe to travel daily between the Canton office at Shameen and his residence within the city. 1884 ÆT. 56

I therefore thought it desirable to use this report in order to emphasize in a note the representations I had made verbally to the Ministers on the previous day as to the urgent necessity of the Chinese Government doing all in their power to keep under control the unruly population of Canton and Foochow, and prevent abuse and ill-treatment of foreigners. I thought I perceived—as I pointed out in my despatch of the 24th ultimo — a disposition on the part of the Chinese Government to attach responsibility to the French for the turbulence of their own people, and I therefore considered it desirable to repeat in this note, as I had already stated to the Ministers in my note to them of the 23rd (enclosed in the above-mentioned despatch), that the Chinese Government were directly responsible for any aggression against foreigners committed by the Chinese people. I also added that the incendiary disposition of the Canton populace was directed against foreigners generally, irrespective of nationality, but that the exhibition of popular ill-feeling against France, in particular, might precipitate fresh collisions, and seriously complicate the relations between the two countries.

The Ministers have since assured me that they telegraphed instructions in the sense I desired to the new Viceroy of the Two Kwang, Chang Chih-tung, who arrived there about the middle of the month. This Viceroy has hitherto evinced a decided bias against foreigners in all the State Papers he has written on foreign questions. He is, however, a resolute and highly capable man, and now that he is face to face with responsibility in the conduct of foreign affairs, he may

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evince a different disposition. Her Majesty's Acting Consul has already reported the issue of fresh proclamations, enjoining friendly behaviour on the part of the people, which have been followed by some improvement in their demeanour towards foreigners in the streets.

The enclosure was as follows :—

To the Tsung-li Yamun Peking July 23

Her Britannic Majesty's Minister has the honour to recall to the recollection of his Highness and their Excellencies the remarks he made at yesterday's interview with reference to the turbulent character of the native population at Canton and Foochow, and the necessity of taking prompt and energetic measures for keeping them under due control.

The justice of these remarks is forcibly sustained by a report which has just been received from Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Canton. In a despatch dated the 10th instant he states that popular feeling in Canton seems lately to have undergone a considerable change for the worse. Foreigners passing through the streets of the city are insulted at almost every step, and it is a noticeable fact that whereas, until recently, it was children or youths who chiefly made use of insulting language, this bad practice is now commonly resorted to by grown-up people. One of the officers employed in Her Majesty's Consulate, who has been living in the official residence within the city occupied by Her Majesty's Consul for many years past, finds that he is so frequently threatened and insulted in his daily journeys to and from the Consulate offices on Shameen, that he has thought it prudent to remove his residence to the foreign Settlement in order to avoid encountering personal violence.

Her Majesty's Acting Consul attributes the growth of this hostile feeling to the rumours of impending hostilities with the French, an eventuality, he adds, that appears to be eagerly looked forward to by a large section of the population, while the authorities show no desire to repress the exhibition of this feeling.

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In view of the above report, Her Britannic Majesty's Minister cannot too strongly impress upon his Highness and their Excellencies the necessity not only of causing active measures to be taken to repress the incendiary disposition of the Canton population, who have already shown, by the destruction of the foreign residences at Shameen, that they make no distinction between foreigners of this or that nationality whenever their latent hostility finds vent in acts of open violence, but he would also venture to suggest that the exhibition of popular hostile feeling towards France may precipitate at any moment a fresh collision, which would seriously complicate the relations between the two countries.

The result of these representations is seen in the following despatch :—

To Earl Granville Peking Aug. 20

In continuation of my despatch of the 15th instant, I have the honour to report that I have since received a despatch . . . from Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Canton, reporting that quiet has been restored in the streets, and that foreigners going through them now enjoy comparative immunity from insult. Her Majesty's Consul attributes this improvement to the energetic character of the new Viceroy Chang Chih-tung.

I mentioned in the above-named despatch that the Ministers of the Tsung-li Yamun had assured me that they would instruct the Viceroy, by telegraph, to take measures to keep the unruly populace of Canton under effective restraint, and the Proclamation which Mr Hance encloses in his despatch, and which was issued a week after I received that assurance, may partly be attributable thereto. The appearance of the incendiary placard, which Mr Hance also encloses, and which had been posted three days before the publication of the Proclamation, proved the necessity of fresh injunctions to check the very malevolent feeling which the placard denotes.

It is satisfactory to see from Mr Hance's despatch

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that he considers the safety of the foreign settlement at Canton (Shameen) to be effectually secured.

The placard referred to contained some highly-coloured statements, such as—

All dealings with foreigners are detestable.
These men have no father or mother.
Their offspring are beasts. . . .
Our country has a sacred religion.
Why should we imitate foreign devils?
Our country has powerful gods,
And it is our bounden duty to reverence Shangti.
Under pretence of establishing hospitals,
They in reality develop their fiendish designs.
We have our own native doctors.
Why ask for favours from the foreign devils?
By distributing medicine they entice you to come,
With a view to making your wives their own. . . .
In one month are four Sundays,
When women come from all parts;
And, no sooner do they see the barbarian's face,
Than they throw both arms round the foreign devil.
My words are of little weight,
But are destined to arouse you in some degree.

Never was Sir Harry's influence more decisively felt at the Yamun than when he demanded and obtained the immediate repudiation of the monstrous Proclamation in which the Chinese were instigated to poison the French. The following official papers show how complete was the reparation he exacted:—

To Earl Granville Peking Oct. 1

In the afternoon of the 18th ultimo I received a telegram from Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Canton, stating:—

'Proclamation issued by high authorities inciting Chinese in Tongking, Saigon, Singapore, and Penang to damage French ships and poison Frenchmen.'

I therefore wrote a note to the Tsung-li Yamun, denouncing this act as a gross offence both against

international law and humanity, and asking for an interview with the Prince and Ministers at the earliest hour they could name. 1884 Æt. 56

His Highness and their Excellencies received me on the 19th, when I forcibly impressed upon them the gravity of the matter, the injury it would occasion to the reputation of the Chinese Government, and the serious consequences that might ensue unless the evil effects of such a publication were promptly remedied.

The Prince and Ministers disavowed all knowledge of the Proclamation, and declared that if it had been issued it would certainly be disapproved. They said they would immediately telegraph to Canton for information, and would communicate with me again on receiving a Report.

A week passed without my hearing from them. In this interval Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Canton had assured me that he was certain of the authenticity of the Proclamation, and on the morning of the 26th I received the following telegram from the Governor of Singapore :—

'Proclamation, issued by high authorities, Canton, 15th September, published here, calling on Chinese in Singapore and Penang to destroy French vessels and poison French subjects. Suggest you should request its immediate cancellation.'

I at once demanded another interview, and saw the Prince and Ministers the same day.

Having expressed disappointment at having received no communication from them on the subject, they assured me that the Report they had called for had not yet reached them. I then told them that the telegrams I had received from the Consul and Governor clearly proved the publication of the Proclamation, and also that it was the act of a high provincial Government, and not of a subordinate local official, whose wrong-doing could be easily disavowed. The mode of correction, therefore, I said, must be as exemplary as

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the offence. I had well considered the matter since our last interview, and had formed the conclusion that nothing less than an Imperial Decree, annulling the Proclamation and censuring the high authorities for issuing it, would adequately serve to remedy the ill-effects of such an ill-advised measure.

The Prince and Ministers evinced a degree of concern which I think they would scarcely have shown if they had not been satisfied from their own information that the charge I made was well founded. They appeared to acquiesce in my view, that the wrong done should be corrected by an Imperial Decree, but they maintained that they could not address the Throne on the subject until they were in possession of the terms of the Proclamation.

I agreed to wait for two or three days longer, but addressed them on the following morning the enclosed note, in which I renewed the language I had used at the two interviews, and which, as it is given in this note, I feel need not be repeated at length in this despatch.

At the close of the interview of the 26th, I also telegraphed to your Lordship begging that I might be authorized to insist upon the publication of an Imperial Decree. I gratefully thank your Lordship for your reply, which I received on the afternoon of the 28th, approving of my language to the Yamun.

The next day I sent Mr Hillier to the Yamun to inform the Ministers that I had been authorized by your Lordship to insist on the publication of an Imperial Decree, but before making a formal demand on this point, I wished to know whether the Chinese Government were prepared to take this step of their own motion, as I preferred that it should appear to be a spontaneous act of their own. The Ministers told Mr Hillier that they could spare me the necessity of making such a demand, as an Imperial Decree had already been issued, and would be communicated to me

in the course of the day. They alleged that they had only received their Report from Canton the previous evening, but that, in the meantime, the publication of the offensive Proclamation had come to the knowledge of the Empress from another source, and that Her Majesty had at once ordered the issue of a Decree disapproving of the employment of such underhand means of attack, censuring the high authorities who issued the Proclamation, and proclaiming the inviolability of foreign jurisdiction. They added that the Decree would be published in the *Peking Gazette*, as I had desired. 1884 ÆT. 56

In the evening I received from the Yamun the note, of which I enclose a translation, communicating to me the Decree, which appears to me to be quite satisfactory, and I trust it will be so regarded by your Lordship. It appeared yesterday morning in the *Peking Gazette*. I had a copy of my reply to the Yamun, acknowledging its receipt, and expressing my high appreciation of the promptness with which His Majesty the Emperor had marked his high disapproval of an act which constituted an aggression on the sovereignty of Great Britain, and was calculated by its inhuman character to bring grave reproach upon the Chinese Government.

In conclusion, I venture to observe that the publication of an Imperial Decree censuring two High Imperial Commissioners, the Governor-General of two provinces and the Governor of the province in which Canton is situated, in less than three days from the time when I first intimated that I considered such a step necessary, furnishes very acceptable evidence of the desire of this Government to maintain friendly relations with ourselves, and of a disposition to comply with the just requirements of Her Majesty's Representative.

The following are the enclosures referred to in the preceding despatch: the first was addressed to the Foreign Board:—

With a view to prevent misunderstanding, Sir H.

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To the Tsung-li Yamun Peking Sept. 27

Parkes thinks it desirable to place on record the representations which he made to the Prince and Ministers at the two interviews he has held with them relative to the Proclamation issued by the high authorities at Canton on the 15th instant, and in which they call on the Chinese in Tongking, Saigon, Singapore, and Penang to destroy French vessels and poison Frenchmen.

Sir H. Parkes first saw the Prince and Ministers on this subject on the 19th instant, immediately on receiving a telegram from Her Majesty's Consul at Canton, informing him of the publication of the Proclamation. He pointed out to the Prince and Ministers that such a Proclamation was a grave infraction of international law and a gross offence against humanity; that it would most seriously injure the reputation of China in the estimation of all nations; and that for any Chinese authority to issue Proclamations to the Chinese in British territory was a serious affront to the Government of Great Britain. It also seemed to him that this Proclamation was wholly opposed to the spirit and injunctions of the Imperial Decree of the 26th ultimo, the liberal tone of which had elicited general admiration.

The Prince and Ministers disavowed all knowledge of the Proclamation, and declared that such a publication would never be permitted by the Government, if only for the reason mentioned by Sir H. Parkes, namely, that it was altogether adverse to the Imperial Decree of the 26th August. They assured Sir H. Parkes that they would at once call upon the high authorities at Canton for an explanation by telegraph, and would communicate with Sir H. Parkes immediately on receiving a reply.

Pending this reference, Sir H. Parkes also telegraphed to Her Majesty's Consul at Canton to ask whether he was quite sure that the Proclamation had been issued, and the Consul reported in answer that he

was certain of its authenticity. Yesterday morning Sir H. Parkes also received a telegram from his Excellency the Governor of Singapore, stating that the Proclamation had been published at Singapore, and demanding that immediate steps should be taken to rectify the serious evils it would create. 1884 ÆT. 56

Seven days having elapsed since the first interview, Sir H. Parkes considered that the Prince and Ministers would surely have received the telegraphic report they had called for, and when he visited them again yesterday he expected to find them fully informed on the subject. He was therefore surprised to learn from them that they had yet received no reply from the high authorities at Canton.

Sir H. Parkes then stated to his Highness and their Excellencies that having carefully thought over the subject during the interval which had elapsed between his two visits, and being now assured by the telegrams he had received, both from the Consul at Canton and the Governor of Singapore, that the publication of the Proclamation was an undoubted fact, he had formed the conclusion that the only adequate remedy for an act which would be universally regarded with abhorrence, and which was an offence against the dignity of the Chinese Government, as well as against the sovereignty of Great Britain, was the issue of an Imperial Decree, to be published in the *Peking Gazette*, denouncing the adoption of such barbarous measures of retaliation, enunciating the impropriety of invading the sovereign rights of other Powers, and censuring the authorities who had issued the Proclamation.

He understood the Prince and Ministers to say that they acquiesced in this view, but that they could not frame a report to the Throne and pray for the issue of such a Decree until they were in possession of the terms of the Proclamation, which they were momentarily expecting. If the representations of Sir H. Parkes were confirmed by their report, they were

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certain that the Proclamation would be entirely disapproved by the Emperor, as it was opposed to His Majesty's previous Decree.

Sir H. Parkes expressed his appreciation of these assurances, though he felt compelled to regret the unaccountable delay shown by the high authorities of Canton in reporting on the subject. He would continue to wait two or three days, by which time he trusted these reports would have arrived.

Sir H. Parkes has to add that having telegraphed at the close of yesterday's interview to Her Majesty's Consul at Canton, to ask him to name the high authorities who had issued the Proclamation, he has just received a reply from the Consul stating that they are the Governor-General and Governor with the Imperial Commissioners, P'êng and Chang.

The Board carried out the British Minister's behest, for once, with exemplary completeness :—

From the Tsung-li Yamun to Sir H. Parkes Peking Sept. 29 (*trans.*)

The Prince and Ministers of the Tsung-li Yamun have the honour to inform the British Minister that on the 29th September 1884 the Grand Secretariat were honoured by the receipt of the following Imperial Decree—

'In consequence of the infringement of Treaty and breach of good faith of which the French were guilty some time since, and the hostilities which were commenced by them, we called upon the high officers in command of troops along the coast, with the Governors-General and Governors concerned, to combine in a united attack upon the French troops with their armies of defence, ordering them to continue, as heretofore, to extend their protection in an equal degree to the merchants and subjects of every nationality,—even French officials, merchants, missionaries, and citizens, who pursued their avocations in an orderly manner, being included in the category of those entitled to protection.

'The Court was guided in the dignified line of

action thus assumed by no other considerations than sincerity in the treatment [of the subjects of other Powers]. 1884 Æt. 56

'It has lately come to our knowledge that the Governor-General, Governor, and others at Canton have issued a Proclamation calling upon the inhabitants of the sea-coast to show their loyalty and patriotism by piloting French ships upon the sea into shallow waters where they will take ground, and placing poison in the food [of the French]. They further extended this mandate to Chinese in Singapore, Penang, and other places.

'In posting such Proclamations on Chinese soil the Governor-General, Governor, and those associated with them were animated by a desire to arouse a strong feeling of patriotism. There was nothing objectionable in such a course, but the employment of such expressions as 'the placing of poison in food' is a departure from uprightness and dignity, while the reference to Singapore, Penang, and other places which are not under our jurisdiction, is likely, when it becomes noised abroad, to be misinterpreted, and to be distorted in process of transmission from one to another, possibly giving rise to trouble.

'As this reference is not in accordance with the spirit of our Decree of the 26th August, we hereby command that our censure be conveyed to P'êng Yü-lin, Chang Chih-tung, Chang Shu-shêng, and Ni Wên-wei.

'The French have broken their compact, and have acted in an unprincipled manner, and all our Chinese subjects are naturally capable, with that unity of purpose which will overcome any obstacle, to make common cause against the enemy of their Sovereign, and it is for this very reason that it is unnecessary to depend upon underhand devices or treacherous schemes which prejudice the object of China in moving her armies in support of a righteous cause.

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'As regards Chinese dwelling in the islands of the outer seas, we command them to refrain from concerning themselves with hostilities, that mistakes and complications may be avoided.'

As in duty bound, the Prince and Ministers beg to forward a copy of this Decree, which they have reverently prepared, for the information of the British Minister.

To this communication Sir Harry made the following appreciative reply :—

To the Tsung-li Yamun Peking Sept. 30

Her Britannic Majesty's Minister has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the Prince and Ministers of yesterday's date, communicating to him an Imperial Decree censuring the Imperial Commissioners, P'êng Yü-lin and Chang Shu-shêng, the Viceroy of the Two Kwang, Chang Chih-tung, and the Governor of Kwang Tung, Ni Wên-wei, for having issued a proclamation calling on Chinese in the British Colonies of Singapore and Penang to poison Frenchmen and destroy French vessels.

Her Britannic Majesty's Minister begs to express his high appreciation of the promptness with which His Majesty has been pleased to mark his high disapproval of the above-mentioned act of the said high authorities, which constituted an aggression on the sovereignty of Great Britain, and was calculated by its inhuman character to bring grave reproach upon the Chinese Government.

Sir Harry's last public service was the acquisition, in 1885, of Port Hamilton, south of Korea, as a coaling station for the British Fleet in the North Pacific. He did not live to witness its abandonment. His management of these and other matters received the full approval and commendation of Her Majesty's Government. Sir Julian Pauncefote,[1] then Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, wrote to him privately (14th November 1884), 'You have got into a terrible frying-

[1] Now H.M. Ambassador to the United States of America.

pan at Peking. But you are managing all things admirably, as I felt sure you would.' A little instance will show how far the English Minister's power penetrated into the interior of China. When Mr Pratt[1] was sailing on the upper Yang-tsze in the autumn of 1888—more than three years after Sir Harry's death—he was told that his progress was considerably smoothed by a certain flag which his skipper insisted on flying with much ceremony. At Ichang the British Consul came aboard and asked what flag he was flying, as a deputation of leading citizens had waited upon him at the Consulate that morning with the information that his Minister had arrived, and they were anxious to pay their respects to his Excellency. On investigation it turned out that the black characters on the white flag were those of Sir Harry Parkes. How the worthy skipper had obtained possession of, or copied it, is not stated; but he smilingly called it a 'No. 1 piecee flag,' and had clearly used it for years as a talisman which would carry contraband goods with perfect safety past any custom-house in the Empire. No Chinaman dared to meddle with 'Pa Tajin's flag.'

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[1] A. E. PRATT, *To the Snows of Tibet* (1892), p. 159.

CHAPTER XLII

THE END OF AN ARDUOUS LIFE

1884–1885

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THE year 1884 was one of unceasing labour to the British Minister—labour which unquestionably cost him his life. The general outline of his public work has been given, within the limits imposed by official reserve, in the preceding chapter, but there were endless matters that called for his constant attention, of which no mention is found in the published papers or private correspondence. Every British subject was sure of a hearing if he appealed to Her Majesty's Legation, and, as Mr Hillier said,[1] 'The secret of Sir Harry's popularity with the general public was the fact that he never considered any case, private or public, too trivial for his attention, and whatever he did he did it thoroughly. . . . His industry was amazing. He never seemed tired, and everything he did was thorough. I never remember seeing him take any sort of mental recreation. He only read papers or books bearing upon his work, and was seemingly indifferent to topics of general interest. Exercise he went in for regularly, and this he pursued as thoroughly as his work. Everything was done at full speed. If he went for a ride, he galloped all the way; and if he walked, it was at the rate of four miles an hour.' He put his whole heart into everything he did.

[1] In his letter to me of 20th December 1893.

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There is an old proverb about the pace that kills, and on looking over the private papers of 1884-1885 it is painfully evident that Sir Harry was killing himself by work at high pressure. His handwriting, as well as the matter of his correspondence, bears witness to dangerous speed, and it is hardly too much to say that half his daily snatches of notes to his daughter, when he was at the Legation and she was fifteen miles off at 'the Hills,' consists of regrets that pressure of work prevents him from riding out that evening as he had intended. Those western hills near Peking were the breathing-places of the European residents, who joyfully escaped in the summer from the malodorous capital to 'smell the air,' as Egyptians say, in the clusters of ancient temples, bowered in trees, which they hired for their *villeggiatura*.

> These temples [writes one who knew them well][1] consist of several courtyards, with large central buildings containing the images of Buddha, the god of war, the goddess of mercy, and many other idols, some very large and all more or less ugly. On each side of the josshouses are guest-rooms, which are rented to the members of the Legations and the foreign missionaries at tolerably high prices for the summer months. Many pretty pavilions are perched on spots commanding the best views, and the higher one climbs the more extensive becomes the view, till from the topmost temple, Pao-chu-tung, 'the Pearl Grotto,' one gazes across the extensive plain for miles to the city of Peking. . . . To these temples we proceed in a sort of patriarchal flitting, and a great undertaking it is. Carts laden with beds and bedding, the *batterie de cuisine*, plates and dishes, ice chest, provisions, cook and servants, toil slowly along, taking at least six or eight hours over the journey (of fifteen miles). Even a cow and calf

[1] Mrs Albert E. Pirkis, the widow of the Legation Accountant. She and her late husband naturally saw much of Sir Harry Parkes, living as they did within the same compound at Peking and in the same temple at the Hills, and both regarded him with unqualified affection and admiration.

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have to be taken, as, though a few lean cows may be seen trying to find a little grass on the generally dried-up hill sides, not a drop of milk is to be got. Meat, bread, etc. have to be sent out daily from the city packed in ice: so our home ideas of country life are utterly reversed. A coolie with a donkey, who brings our provisions, brings also our letters, and his arrival is the greatest event of the day. The hill paths are stony and steep, the rocky gullies usually dried up except after the rains, when for a time they become tumbling torrents, adding much to their beauty. But it is more frequently 'a dry and thirsty land where no water is.' The temple guest-rooms are provided with a few of the highest and hardest chairs, and tables, and 'kangs' or brick bed-places, but that is all, and as the rooms have paper windows with only an occasional square of glass let in, they are not very cheerful during the long hours when it is impossible to go out in the heat. When the sun goes down a little, every one goes for a walk, but the darkness falls suddenly, and unless there is a moon the evenings are difficult. The lamp attracts numberless insects, and the only thing to do is to go early to bed, to be awakened at daybreak by the temple service, which consists of doleful and excruciating chanting accompanied by beating of gongs and drums to the gods.

In the summer of 1884 Sir Harry hired the temple of Hsiang-chieh-Ssŭ, and the inhabitants of the various houses which were included in the Legation compound, and intimate friends, like Bishop Scott, were continually going backwards and forwards to this picturesque resort. His younger daughter had been married in March, and had gone with her husband, Mr Levett, to England; but Miss Parkes was still with him, to his intense satisfaction, and if any one could have tempted him out to his country temple it was the daughter upon whom he lavished the love which had formerly been poured out to his never-forgotten wife. But even 'Minnie' stood second to duty,

and much as he delighted in her society in the wild scenery of the Hills, he was too often compelled to stay alone in the dusky stifling city, where the fever, which never quite looses its victim in China, frequently brought him low. 'I am sorely persecuted with fever,' he wrote to Consul-General Hughes (4th July 1884), 'which has enfeebled me to an extent I have not previously experienced, and confirmed me in my view that Peking is a damnable dunghill.' He was then in the thick of the anxieties of the renewed hostilities of France, and he feared war, not in Tongking, but in China itself. 'He has had to hurry back to Peking' (wrote his daughter from the Hills, 15th July), 'and I greatly dread the close confinement and the heat for him. He was really feeling the better for the change and rest out here, and just as he was deriving some benefit from the purer air, back he has to go into that *sink*—I really cannot call it by any more appropriate name. I much fear we may all have to bundle into the city again, for I expect if war be declared it would be scarcely safe to remain out here. . . . Besides, first and foremost, where the father is, there I am: I cannot spend these last precious months separate, so I should simply go to him.' 1884 ÆT. 56

Even when the father joined the party at the temple, he brought his work with him. 'It was impossible,' writes a devoted friend,[1] 'to get Sir Harry to take a proper holiday and rest from work. He was an inveterate worker. He would ride out to the temple intending to stay a few days and enjoy the country; but before he had finished dinner (and he ate almost nothing at all times) or had any rest, a courier from the city would arrive with budgets of despatches, which Sir Harry would immediately open and become so immersed in them for hours, that we had unwillingly to say good-night and leave him surrounded by papers.' And next day, in all probability, he would ride back to Peking. The anxieties of the French aggressions, the attack on Foochow arsenal, the questions of

[1] Mrs Pirkis of the Legation, already mentioned.

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blockade and of searching British ships, and other problems connected with a war which had never been declared to be such, kept him constantly on the rack. 'As for myself,' he wrote, 30th September, to his naval son-in-law, in nautical metaphor, 'I continue to stagger along, always under a press of sail, and never reaching an easy mooring, often feeling that I have been too long in commission, and wishing for the time when I shall be paid off. The evil often seems to me more than sufficient for the day into which it is crammed, but I nevertheless keep "pegging along." This French trouble will continue for many a long day, I fear, and do our interests in this country grievous damage, over which the French will not lament, while the Chinese, owing to their low vitality, do not feel the suffering which they will sustain. I don't see any turning in the long lane ahead of us.' To his daughter Mabel he added on the same sheet, 'Don't think I never think of you. . . . My consolation for your absence is the knowledge that you are doing better duty at your proper post. I love to think of you as making a little Greenwich home happy, and showing that a wife can help a man to acquit himself of hard studious work. Some day, perhaps, we may all be permitted to gather in the old country and comfort each other with our various experiences of fairly-directed labour.'

Soon after this letter was written, he parted with his eldest daughter—little as they thought it—for ever. Miss Parkes was married at the Legation chapel on 21st October 1884 to Mr James J. Keswick, a partner in the famous old China firm of Jardine, Matheson, and Co., and at that time Chairman of the Municipal Council at Shanghai. No loss could be more grievous to the father, whose whole heart was wrapped up in the daughter who had been his chief happiness since her mother's death, but his unselfish nature never grudged her to her husband, and it was touching to see the generous warmth with which he welcomed his son-in-law to his heart. But self was the very last thing he thought of when the

happiness of others was at stake. Yet it was a severe wrench, after he had ridden some way out on the Tien-tsin road with the bride and groom, to have to say good-bye and turn back alone to the empty rooms in the Legation which she had brightened for him during the past year. 1884 ÆT. 56

His great pleasure now was to write to her at Shanghai and give her little commissions to execute. In one of the November letters he records a disastrous effect of her absence :—

> I have got into horrible trouble. Last night Mr von Brandt gave a great party to all the diplomatic body and the ladies of the place. He had invited me ten days previously, but I forgot all about it and was chiefly engaged in writing you my letter of last night. This morning everybody has been writing or calling to know if I had suddenly been taken ill! You see, *you* used to keep the record of all my engagements. . . . Von Brandt waited for me half an hour. I have been round this morning to apologize, and he has heaped coals of fire upon my head by sending me a basket of *oysters!!*

Ten days later (29th November) he wrote :—

> 'Tis Saturday night—the night appropriated to 'sweethearts and wives,' and therefore a proper time to write a line to my sweetheart. Your last note is of the 19th. It was short, because you very properly wrote a long one to Mrs Pirkis of *incidents*, all of which of course I obtained from her, while you reserved for me the more valuable little pearl-drops of love. I was much interested, however, in all you told Mrs Pirkis, as I can realize your new home and dominion. . . . Things don't go exactly *merrily* with me, but quite as well as could be expected. . . . I am in good health, for I am taking a good deal of exercise, although I was soon obliged to give up the morning rides, as they inconveniently retarded the day's work. I now, however, leave my office directly the 2.30 post leaves, and am out for a couple of hours. This week I have ridden four days out of the six. I am also going through the grape cure,

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which consists of eating a bunch of grapes when I get up instead of taking a cup of tea. . . . I then take a brisk walk for half an hour in the compound, and go to breakfast at 8.30 punctually (!) with a good appetite. Work commences at nine sharp, and continues sharply till 2.30: luncheon (not very punctually) at one. Then I *try* to work again from 5 to 7.30. The evenings after dinner are rather somnolent, I fear, but when I can get into my office I intend then to improve. . . . At present I am doing everything, office work and all, in your little room. . . . I shall take O'Conor in when he arrives. Stronge is very nice. He is not so quick as Maude, but he is diligent, pleased with the place, and we shall get on well together. I hope Maude is making a little stay with you. He is greatly missed, as you can understand. We have had no events of any kind, and I am afraid the Legation is much duller than before.

The preceding letter shows how highly he appreciated his officers. To say that he was popular with all his staff would not be true: no taskmaster of his energetic character is popular with men who want to be idle, and if there were any such in the Peking Legation, Sir Harry must have been scarcely an agreeable chief from their point of view. As Mr Hillier wrote to me—

> He demanded from his subordinates a great deal of work, and was merciless where a loafer was concerned. When he found a willing horse he would work him for all he was worth, and I am bound to say he nearly killed me. But there was a satisfaction in working for a chief who was so appreciative, and who would stick to a faithful lieutenant through thick and thin. This feature of his disposition was exemplified in his Treaty negotiations with the Korean Government. The drawing up of the Chinese text of the Korean Treaty was my special task, and though he had a great knowledge of Chinese and might reasonably have exercised a supervision over my task, he left the whole of it to my

discretion. I had a difference with the Korean authorities on one occasion as to the introduction of one Chinese character . . . as I considered that it was capable of being construed to mean more than the English text intended. I told Sir Harry what my objections were, and he at once said that the character should not be employed against my wish, and for three days negotiations were broken off. . . . The result was that the Koreans gave way at the last moment. . . . For myself I can say that in him I lost a patron and an honoured friend. His intimates were few, for he allowed himself little time for intimacies, but I claim the privilege of having been one of these few during the closing months of his life. . . . I only wish I could say something that would give adequate expression to my appreciation of his character. 1884 Æt. 56

Mr Nicholas R. O'Conor, who is now Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, first arrived there near the close of 1884 as Secretary of Legation, and was warmly welcomed by his chief. His own recollection of their first meeting is very characteristic :—

It was about this time eight years ago or a little earlier that I arrived in Peking for the first time. I had come from Paris where I had spent six or seven years, and I had only a very vague idea of the state of things in this great Empire, but I well recollect the impression made upon my mind at finding the occupant of this post a man of the *trempe* of Warren Hastings, of the head and resolution that has formed and extended our Empire — a man such as I had not met before and certainly did not expect to meet in Peking. I had started from Tien-tsin, I think it was on the 2nd December, and the rough native cart was jolting and labouring through the dusty, dilapidated street, and had just reached the bridge of the Legation when it was stopped by your father. I had noticed a horseman turning the corner in a canter and a cloud of dust, and I marked the chestnut pony 'William' N. O'Conor to Mrs Keswick Peking Dec. 18 1892

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that you so kindly afterwards lent me. He welcomed me to the Legation, told me that everything was ready for me, that he was just going out for a short ride after a hard morning's work, and would be back before I had time to dress and get rid of the dust and over the fatigue of my long journey. He returned before dusk and we met over a cup of tea and talked till it was time to dress for dinner, passing from subject to subject, which he just touched on long enough to show how closely he followed events in Europe, but especially everything connected with the Franco-Chinese war. We dined alone that evening, and he came in to the drawing-room with a pile of letters and papers in his hand, and said that he hoped I would excuse him if he retired before ten, but that he found he could not get through his work without doing some of it at night. During the few weeks I remained with him at the Legation how often did he repeat this! He struck me even then as too highly strung and overworked, and it was always a pleasure to me when I could prolong the conversation to midnight and see him take his candle and go straight to bed, while he turned and said, 'Well, you have again prevented me from doing anything this evening, and I must be up and at work at six in the morning;' and he was. His conversation was to me the most interesting and absorbing: it was like a digest of the political and social state of the country explained by one who was a part of it himself, and who had imbibed the spirit of the strange and weird surroundings, and was able to instruct by every word. Often we talked of the state of things at home, the Irish and Egyptian questions, the policy of the Government, . . . and other matters. He was keen to hear anything bearing on the conduct and action of the Government, and particularly as regarded the Eastern question:—'Some day, not in our lifetime, but surely some day or other, and perhaps sooner than people anticipate, there will be another and a greater Eastern

question, in which China will play the chief part, whether by her strength or weakness it is difficult to say, but everything points to China as the pivot of the Eastern question in the far future. Her action will greatly depend on our policy during the intervening years.' . . . 1884 ÆT. 56

I was rather unwell during January 1885 and kept much in the house, or if I went out it was generally for a short walk by myself, so that I did not see much of him. I used to see him occasionally in the morning, and if there was anything particular going on he invariably was good enough to consult with me, more especially if the subject was political. I heard afterwards, however, that he was rather puzzled to find out what I was doing, and disturbed by the idea that I was idling my time and wasting the days in curio hunting. A few weeks later I brought him a voluminous report on the subject of the state of our commercial relations with China, and I recollect how his eyes sparkled and the look of approval he gave, and the pleasure he showed at finding that I had been working in reality very hard. He said he would spend the afternoon going over the report, and begged me to come and see him immediately after dinner. I did so, and from nine o'clock till past midnight he went over every subject in the report, discussing and arguing each point with the keen interest he took in everything that was in any way connected with official work. I recollect it struck me that he was very tired at the end of our interview.

These letters from the two members of the Legation who were brought into the closest personal relations with their chief in 1884-1885,[1] will show how he was appreciated by his staff. Nor is the testimony of the Consuls who acted under him less emphatic. Mr P. J. Hughes, who

[1] Mr Maude, who would have endorsed their high appreciation of his chief, died 2nd October 1892; I have not had an opportunity of seeing Mr Stronge, who is at Rome; and Mr Everard is in China, and time has not permitted a reference to him.

1884 Æt. 56 was Consul-General at Shanghai, and was entirely and loyally in accord with Sir Harry, writes that 'his patriotism, his honesty of purpose, his untiring industry, his unfailing courage, are worthy of all praise. His ideal was that of a Christian gentleman, and his aim to do nothing inconsistent with that ideal. In his dealings with the Chinese he insisted on their acting honestly, but he felt bound to act honestly himself.'

Another of his officers, Sir Chaloner Alabaster, corroborates what Mr Hillier has said of Parkes' habit of working his subordinates,—'turning you out at all hours of the day and night, routing you out even when you were having your bath'—but adds:—

> It was a pleasure to serve under him, for although he would work you to death, although he would pull you up sharply if going wrong, you always felt that if you did your best, although you got into a mess by your own stupidity, he would stand by you and pick you out. . . . My last acquaintance with him was when he was Minister at Peking and I Consul at Hankow, and the friendliness of his letters to me made it a pleasure to work under him. . . . His policy consisted in a thorough desire to do his duty to his country and his countrymen. He believed that the first duty of an Englishman was to make England great; that to do so you should act as an Englishman, be perfectly fair and just, never to do anything mean or ungentlemanly, but have your own way in everything, and fight to the death, and if possible beyond it, to get it. Consciously or unconsciously modelled upon one of his first chiefs, Lord Palmerston, his only thought was England and English interests; but like Lord Palmerston he had no far-reaching policy, and was content to deal with present questions, troubling himself little with thought of the future: a thoroughly practical, honest, fearless public servant.

Indeed, many of his qualities recall the soldier rather than the civilian. His immovable coolness and

courage in danger, his presence of mind, his unsleeping vigilance, unflagging energy, and masterful habit of command, showed the making of an admirable officer; and his careful and minute mastery of administrative details would have been—nay, proved to be—invaluable in a campaign. As Lord Wolseley once said to me with emphasis, 'he would have made a great General.' The remark shows how Parkes' splendid practical qualities impressed one who knows what stuff great soldiers are made of. 1885 ÆT. 57

The winter of 1884-1885 passed, spent by Sir Harry in anxious work, but not without enjoying the few festivities at Christmas, which are the more cherished in China because they bring the distant home near for an instant. At the Legation theatricals on 22nd December he was 'the most charming and enthusiastic audience, quite inspiring the performers with his hearty enjoyment and applause.' He described the acting in a letter to his daughter: 'It was,' he said, 'a great success. Mrs Pirkis played to perfection. She got herself up as a most attractive young girl, and looked so pretty and acted ravishingly well. Mrs Hillier also did excellently, but her part was a more staid one. After the performance the whole house, which was crowded, came over to me to dance and to sup, as last year.' A little later he took a keen interest in his make-up for the *bal costumé* at the Russian Legation, and in spite of his loneliness he was cheery and bright as ever. One of his happiest letters was written in January 1885 to his daughter, Mrs Levett, on the memorable occasion when he became a grandfather.

To say that he was popular in the little circle of Peking society gives but a faint idea of the affectionate regard which he inspired. His frank sincerity, warm open-hearted sympathy, and unaffected simplicity of nature, won him friends wherever he went; and his total lack of pretension or self-esteem made them almost forget the Queen's Representative in the kindly self-

1885 Æt. 57 forgetting man, who, with all his honours, still kept himself 'unspotted by the world.' If any were in 'trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity,' this masterful Minister, humbly following in the steps of a Divine example, was ever ready to comfort and succour. Absolutely forgetful of himself, he was sensitive for others; a loyal, faithful, and chivalrous friend, he felt keenly and personally an injury or a harsh word dealt to another. He remembered the resolution he made in his youth, and no one heard him speak unkindly of others: or if, in a moment of irritation, an unjust word escaped him, it was speedily regretted and recalled. It is no wonder that a nature so unselfish, so unassuming, so helpful, and so hearty was the object of the loyalist homage at Peking.

Political affairs continued anxious, and the Korean massacre[1] filled him with apprehension for the safety of Mr and Mrs Aston. On receiving a new year's card from Mrs Keswick, he replied, in words which afterwards sounded almost prophetic, 'I should be thankful if its wishes for *peace* in this year could be fulfilled in my case. However, I received a favourable telegram from Aston to-day, reporting a settlement of the Korean question as between Korea and Japan. There is another side to it —the Chinese—and I am trying to prevent a breach in that direction also. . . . The motto of a noted fraternity of monks was *Laborare est orare*, To Labour is to Pray: I can only hope that such prayer may be acceptable in my case also.'

The news of the death of his old friend General Gordon filled him with indignant grief:—

> The one thing on my mind just now [he told his daughter, 16th February], and which makes me very sad, is the death of our dear Gordon. I had always confidently hoped that he would have been preserved, although there seemed scarcely room for the hope amid the intense perils by which he was surrounded.

[1] See above, p. 217.

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Still I trusted he would be brought through them. . . . I enclose you a telegram which Li (the Viceroy) sent me the moment he heard of dear Gordon's death. It is nobly worded.[1] . . .

I never considered myself a real Conservative. My sympathies are liberal, but not ultra-liberal, and I consider that the rights of *all* classes should be maintained, the upper as well as the lower, and that those of the holders of property should not be sacrificed to the cry of a mob. The rising wave of socialism should be repressed, not encouraged, for it is destructive of society and of religion too. Socialism denies all rights of property, and even the sacredness of marriage. We never intend to come to that, says your ultra-liberal: and so says every man who begins to lower his principles; he only intends to sin partially, and not gravely. . . .

I have received three letters from Mrs Aston, the last one to-day, telling me, I am sorry to see, that Aston is not making good progress. He and she must both have suffered intensely during the late troubles. . . . I hope he will not think of returning until he has quite recovered, and he must not attempt to pass another winter at Söul. He should go home at the end of the year. . . .

I suppose you will soon be starting for Hongkong. It is impossible for me to conjecture the future and to make any plans of coming to you, while if the French blockade the Gulf you will not be able to come to me. We must bear our trial as we best can. It will indeed be a sore trial to me if we cannot meet,—and yet this fate may await us.

The fate awaited them, in the saddest sense, and with terrible suddenness. Ever thoughtful for others, Sir Harry

[1] 'Being deeply afflicted by the news I have just received of the untimely end of Gordon, my old and trusted friend, noble, and heroic, and unselfish companion-in-arms, to whom China owes a debt of lasting gratitude, I hasten to express to you, as H.M. Representative, my sympathy in the loss which the great British nation has sustained' (Li to Sir H. Parkes, 14th February 1885).

1885 Æt. 57 was taking no care of himself. In his last letter to his daughter (11th March), after making various money arrangements for her, and giving minute directions as to the forms to use in drawing on her banking account in London, he adds, 'I have been much worried during the last five days with what Bushell [the Legation doctor] calls neuralgia in the stomach, which has kept me to the house and rendered all movement painful. Consequently I have found it very difficult to work, and have been very cross: but it is abating to-day.' Every week brought Mrs Keswick's expected visit nearer, and this alone was enough to make him happy. He took no heed of the symptoms of serious illness, and increased them by his unremitting attention to work, which no persuasion or remonstrance would induce him to relax. 'As you can readily believe,' wrote Mr Hillier to Mr Aston (7th April), 'the events of the past winter had been productive of grave thought and anxiety, and living so entirely alone as Sir Harry did, official matters were never absent from his mind. He hated dining out, and equally disliked being taken from his work; but as this was second nature to him, and he never did take any relaxation beyond an occasional ride, no one could do more, when he complained of being out of sorts, than suggest a relaxation of his labours.' Mr Pirkis came into his room one day near the middle of March and found him looking ill and painfully gathering up some papers that had fallen on the floor, for he stooped with difficulty; but his reply to an entreaty that he would lie down and rest was Sir Harry all over —'My dear fellow, the Government don't pay me for lying down!' For two or three weeks he fought against a growing feeling of general weakness. He disliked being thought ill, and was a difficult patient both to the doctor and nurse, when he could be induced to send for either. On Thursday the 19th March Mr Hillier found him suffering from a sharp attack of ague, and privately begged Dr Bushell to go and see him. Herr von Brandt, who came to see him early on Thursday

morning, was also struck by his changed appearance, and spoke to Dr Bushell: he thus describes the interview:[1]— 1885 ÆT. 57

> He was reclining on a sofa in his study, shivering and evidently in great pain, looking like a man seriously ill. He told me that he had felt very poorly for some days, and I insisted that he should go to bed at once, give up his work, and try to get a good rest. 'That is the advice everybody has given me,' was his answer, 'but I can find no rest when lying down, my mind being constantly busy with the past and the present; so that I would prefer to work if I could.' I sat with him for half an hour, trying to cheer him, and I think I succeeded in it to some extent at least. When I left he shook my hand very warmly, thanking me for my visit, which had, as he said, done him a great deal of good, and promising to take better care of himself than he had done heretofore. I did not then think that it would be the last time that I should see my old friend and colleague alive.

Indeed, Sir Harry had himself at last given in, and sent a pencil line to Mr O'Conor to this effect: 'I tried to go on with this work, but find I am unable to—will you kindly do what is necessary.—Herewith a box full of papers.'

> I went to see him at once [writes the then Secretary of Legation], and found him sitting on the sofa by the window, looking very pale and worn, and with his feet resting on a chair. He said, 'Excuse my lying down, but I am not well and don't quite know what is the matter.' I said, 'I am afraid you are in great pain, Sir Harry?' 'Oh yes,' he said; 'but I can stand pain: what I cannot endure is that I cannot go on with my work. Will you kindly go on with it?' After a short time I left, and returned about six o'clock, when I found him in bed. I saw him several times a day till the time of his death, and meantime I went on with the work to the best of my power.

N. R. O'Conor to Mrs Keswick Dec. 18 1892

[1] In a letter to me under date 19th January 1894.

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On the Friday there were some fifty or sixty despatches for the Government and the ports, but I did not like to take them to him for signature, nor yet to sign them for him, so I sent for Dr Bushell, and begged him to see Sir Harry and let me know what he thought I had better do. Bushell returned in about ten minutes and said, 'Sir Harry can sign the despatches, but he ought not to read them.' I accordingly brought them over to his bedroom. He was lying on his bed in a dressing suit. I told him I had merely carried out his own views, that I was able to do so from previous conversation, and that I thought he ought not to bother about official work for a few days, when I had no doubt he would be better. He got up and came over to a little table at the foot of the bed and signed all the despatches without a word, looking very pale. He then went back to bed, and observing the sunlight streaming in and on to his bed, I proposed to let down the blinds, whereupon he said, 'Oh, no; leave them so, please. You see I have not bothered about work, and try to dismiss it from my mind, but the moment I shut my eyes and attempt to sleep the brain begins to work with terrific rapidity—all the scenes of my life in Japan, all the hair-breadth escapes, etc., come back with appalling vividness; and when I wake again and see the sunlight and the trees and the sparrows I return to myself more quickly.'

The doctor was with him constantly on Friday, but saw nothing to cause serious anxiety. 'He said,' wrote Mr Hillier, 'that he was suffering from a sharp attack of fever, but that there was nothing grave in the symptoms, and that he hoped a few days' quiet would bring him round.' In the afternoon the patient's temperature was 104° Fahr. and the pulse 104—nothing unusual in similar cases of fever,—and on Saturday morning Sir Harry said he felt better, and took nourishment well, according to the medical report. There was no lack of sympathy or offers of assistance: Mrs Pirkis and Miss Philip (of the London

Missionary Society, a cousin of Mr Lockhart's) were eager to nurse their friend, but he sent back warm messages of thanks, saying that he only wanted a little rest, and would soon be well again. He had no conception that he was in any danger, and would have no nurse but his faithful Canton 'boy,' Ah-ni, who had been his attendant for years, and who slept in an anteroom a few feet from his master's bed. 1885 ÆT. 57

Even on Saturday his strength kept up, and he was able to walk about his room. A telegram came to announce Mrs Keswick's departure from Shanghai on her way to her father, but he was not told of it, lest he should think she had been sent for and that people were alarmed about him. Mr Pirkis was with him during the day, and in the evening Mr O'Conor stood by his bedside 'watching him sleeping with tolerable ease, and surprised at his doing so, as he had complained of the painfully vivid nature of his dreams the moment he dozed off,' when current business and anxieties would press upon the over-busy brain. At half-past nine Dr Bushell gave him his quinine, with a dose of morphia, and the patient slept. The only later witness is Ah-ni, who saw him three times in the night, and gave him some milk, after which he turned over and slept again. Between six and seven on Sunday morning, the 22nd, the boy noticed something peculiar, and summoned the doctor, who found that Sir Harry must have passed away in his sleep. His head lay on his hand in an attitude of natural repose, and his peaceful countenance showed that death had visited him gently. The overtaxed brain had given way under the strain of a remittent typhoid fever of the local Peking type, which would hardly have endangered a life that had not already been undermined by the weariness of perpetual overwork.

It was the work, not the fever, that killed him. 'He never allowed his brain a moment's rest, and his ceaseless mental activity rendered him abnormally sensitive to an illness which, though not light, would not, at the stage which it

1885 Æt. 57 had reached, have given cause for alarm in ordinary circumstances.' So wrote Mr Hillier at the time, and Mr O'Conor, in announcing the sad tidings to Consul-General Hughes (26th March) says the same:—

> Something seems to have suddenly given way in the brain or the heart: in fact he died from the unceasing strain put on a brain requiring long rest and repose. He had not a thought but what was devoted to his country's interest, and a truer patriot or more single-minded, able Minister England has never had. I little thought that he would be cut off in the prime of his life and labours, and I cannot say how sincerely I mourn him. I had learnt in the time I had had the pleasure of serving under him both to admire his remarkable talents and to esteem him above men as the devoted servant of his country.
>
> I saw [added Mr O'Conor in a later letter] that the country had lost a great Englishman, and that British interests had lost their ablest defender in the Far East.

This is not the place to dwell upon the tragic moment when the daughter who was coming to enjoy the longed-for visit to her father received the crushing news at Tientsin; or her mournful arrival at the closed Legation, too late even to look upon the face of him who slept. Such consolation as may be found in world-wide sympathy came abundantly to Sir Harry's stricken family. From the Queen, whom he had served so loyally, from Ministers and colleagues, from old fellow-workers in the service, from the Consuls throughout the Far East, whose flags stood at half-mast in silent tribute to a lost leader, from organs of public opinion of all shades of politics, one universal note of sorrow went forth. For him who had seen the birth of almost every English settlement in the Far East, who had grown with their growth and been strengthened in 'the unwavering and unbounded confidence of his countrymen,' all the many communities over whom he had stood guard joined in mourning. Old friends in Japan, such as Count Daté and Mr Nakai,

united with foreign colleagues, like Herr von Brandt, in deploring a grievous personal loss. The German Minister, in a letter full of feeling, told how his 'old friend and colleague, who has always been an unrivalled example of earnest single-mindedness and self-denying industry to me as to many others, succumbed in the midst of his work, doing his duty—and more than that—to the last moment: and his country and his Sovereign have felt his loss deeply, and mourned over it as that of one of her noblest sons and most useful servants. Sir Harry's name has been a household name in the Far East for many a year, and will remain so.' But among all the legion of laments, one is especially significant of the unique position which Sir Harry Parkes had attained in the minds of the Oriental statesmen with whom he worked. Count Inouyé, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, telegraphed his 'deep sorrow at the death of one whose wise and frank advice and timely and energetic action have assisted Japan in the course of her progress, and whose sincerity and kindness of character have won him so many friends among Japanese officials.' 1885 ÆT. 57

The Chinese Viceroy Li Hung-Chang was not behindhand in paying the last marks of respect, as the remains of the English Minister passed through Tien-tsin on the way to an English grave. The Viceroy's body-guard escorted the coffin to the ship that was to carry it to Shanghai: the Japanese Ambassador, Count Ito, and the foreign Consuls, were the pall-bearers; and there were few of the European community who did not join the procession to do honour to the dead. As the steamer passed down to the mouth of the Peiho, the very Taku forts—where the late Minister had dictated the terms of surrender a quarter of a century before—fired minute-guns till the ship was out of sight. At Shanghai there was universal mourning; all business was stopped, and the whole settlement assembled to attend the gun-carriage, drawn by blue-jackets, which bore the flag-covered coffin to its temporary resting-place at the Mortuary Chapel.

1885 Æt. 57 The French and Italian Ministers were the leading pall-bearers, followed by the foreign Consuls-General and other prominent and representative men; whilst the British Consul-General, Mr Hughes, accompanied Mr Keswick, the chief mourner. Then came the staffs of the British Consulate and the Supreme Court, and of all the foreign Consulates, the entire Municipal Council, and the military and naval escort, composed of the Shanghai volunteers, more than two hundred seamen from the British, German, Italian, American, and Japanese men-of-war, and a guard of honour from the Taotai. An immense concourse of the residents followed in carriages or on foot, with a vast crowd of Chinese, to whom the name of 'Pa Tajin' had so long been a symbol of power. At the chapel the Italian Minister, after the graceful custom of his country, pronounced an *éloge* in sympathetic terms of admiration and regret, which were echoed throughout the wide community which Sir Harry had watched and helped almost from its birth, more than forty years before. At Hongkong, which had witnessed his entrance into his country's service, the flags at Government House, at the forts, at the Consulates, at the English houses and on the vessels in the harbour, were at half-mast, and minute guns were fired from the guardship when the *Anchises* bore her honoured burden by. At home a memorial service had already been held at St Mary Abbot's, Kensington, where he and Gordon had worshipped side by side; but the burial did not take place till the 26th of June, when the long voyage was at an end. Then, with every circumstance of honour and respect Sir Harry Parkes was laid beside his wife in the quiet graveyard of the little church where they were married nearly thirty years before. Whitchurch had witnessed their union, and there in death they were not divided.

. . . . . .

Two years later a modest ceremony took place at St Paul's Cathedral, of which the passers-by knew little. But in the crypt were gathered some whose names are writ large in the history of the East. Among the little throng were Sir Harry's old chief of Amoy days, Sir Rutherford Alcock; his lifelong friend and colleague Sir Thomas Wade; and Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Keppel, who had admired the plucky boy forty-five years before in distant Hongkong. There were the Secretaries of the Chinese and Japanese Legations; there, Consuls past and present; missionaries and travellers, besides those who were proud to speak of a brother and a father. They had come to do honour to a great Englishman, whose marble bust (by Thomas Brock, R.A.) was then unveiled by Sir Rutherford Alcock. It bore an inscription which told how the monument had been 'erected by friends and brother officers in memory of his lifelong service, his unfailing courage, devotion to duty, and singleness of purpose.' 1885 ÆT. 57

. . . . . .

But if London knew little of the honour that was being paid in her cathedral to one whose life had been spent far away in the uttermost parts of the earth, it was otherwise at Shanghai, in April 1890, when a vast crowd assembled to witness the unveiling by the Duke of Connaught of the first public statue in the metropolis of European China. There the name of Sir Harry Parkes was part of the history of the city, and his memory was green in the hearts of hundreds. Nor was there one present who did not echo the words of His Royal Highness when, with Sir Harry's daughter beside him, he spoke of 'the distinguished statesman' whose statue he deemed it 'a great honour' to unveil: 'he did noble service to his country and I hope we may say to the world—certainly to the civilized world at large. His indomitable energy and his endurance under the most severe

1885 Æt. 57 trials, his strong sense of duty in the most difficult circumstances, made him a man who was not only respected by the Sovereign and country he served, but also by all those who were brought into communication with him. We cannot forget that it was largely owing to him that Japan has now advanced so greatly in civilization. We know, too, the great works he did here in China, and how he did everything he could to promote the interests of his countrymen and of those European powers who wished to be in friendly intercourse with the Celestial Empire.'

The record of a life devoted heart and soul to the service of his Queen may fitly end with this honourable tribute from her son.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

A

THE idea of the (Old) Japanese State is well exemplified in the construction of a daimio's *yashiki*—a central stronghold or mansion surrounded by the dwellings of his retainers, enclosed within a rectangular area bounded by the long barrack-like buildings where the soldiery was lodged, so characteristic of the daimio quarter of Yedo. The higher the rank of the retainer, the nearer was his lodging to that of his chief, and this was, generally speaking, the arrangement of the Imperial Palace and the mansions of the Court nobles in the Kioto or Capital, the proper name of which was Heianjo, the City of Peace and Prosperity.

Before the foundation of the Shogunate in the twelfth century, the provincial governors were taken from the *kugé*. On the creation of a military nobility the *kugé* were dispossessed not merely of their territorial but also in part of their court offices and titles, and hence many of the daimios came to prefix to their territorial designations court titles which had become hereditary in their families. There were about sixty of these titles at the close of the Shogunate. Thus the daimio of Satsuma was *Shuri no daibu*, Minister of Palace Repairs; the daimio of Chōshiu *Daizen no daibu*, Minister of the Imperial Kitchen, and so forth. The brother of the last of the Shoguns was usually known as the *Mimbu Taiu*, Minister of the Interior. These were merely empty titles, and represented no duties whatever.

According to a popular encyclopaedia of the early sixties, *Yedo Ō Setsuyō*, there were 265 daimios, creations of Iyeyasu, and

Mr Gubbins[1] gives the same number, including the Go San-ké. They may be grouped into 39 *gentes* more or less (really or supposedly) connected by blood or through adoption, and were further arranged in three orders or categories—18 *kokushiu* or lords of provinces, 32 *riōshiu* or lords of territories, and 212 *jōshiu* or lords of castles. Their assessments—*i.e.* the total rice-produce on which they levied their taxes—were 10,000 *koku* or more; of Kaga, the wealthiest, the assessment was 1,027,000 *koku*; of Mito, 350,000; of Chōshiu, 369,000; of Satsuma, 710,000.[2]

In addition Iyeyasu created some 2000 *hatamoto*, or vassals assessed at amounts varying between 300 *koku* and just under 10,000 *koku*. Lastly there were about 5000 *go kenin* or retainers whose incomes were 100 *koku* or less. Most of the Tokugawa officials were *hatamoto* or *go kenin*.

Another division of the daimios was into *tozama* (outer) daimios (86 in number) and *fudai* (vassal) daimios (176 in number)—the former being the barons who gave in their adherence to Iyeyasu *after* the fall of the castle of Osaka. Of the *fudai* 21 belonged to the Tokugawa *gens*, including the Go San-ké (Mito, Owari, and Kishiu); these did not administer their own domains but, by an arrangement characteristically Japanese, each other's, while the *tozama* daimios enjoyed full rule over their own daimiates, subject merely to the overlordship of the Shogun.

Lastly a court rank or *i* was attached to every court office, real or nominal, from the highest to the lowest. There were 30 grades or classes in all, one being postumous. Each class was divided into principal and secondary, and some were further subdivided. Thus the late Prime Minister, Prince Sanjō Sanetomi, was *shō-ichi-i*, that is of the principal first class; the present Minister of Agriculture, Count Gotō Shōjirō, is *jiu-ni-i*, or of the secondary second class.

[1] See his admirable paper on the subject of feudalism in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xv. pt. 2. From this paper and Mr Satow's notes to his partial translation of the *Nihon Gwaishi* most of the information contained in this section is taken.

[2] Later the *kokushiu* seem to have numbered 21—3 greater *kokushiu* (Kaga, Satsuma, and Sendai), 14 or 15 lesser, and 3 or 4 new *kokushiu*.

B

THE capacity of the *koku* was nearly 5 bushels of 36 litres each (more exactly $180\frac{1}{10}$ litres), or one-sixth of a ton measurement. It was divided into 10 *to* and 100 *shō*.

A bag or bale *hiō* was reckoned equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ *to* and 2 *shō* to cover loss in transport, *i.e.* to about $1\frac{3}{4}$ bushel. The value of the *koku* is a *vexata quaestio* in Old Japanese economics.

Where money was paid instead of rice as tax it was usually at the rate of one gold *koban* or *riō* for the *koku*. The *riō* was equal to 4000 ordinary cash or 1000 *yeiraku*[1] cash. The *riō*, as coined from 1835-1860, contained gold worth (according to Western standards) $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars; with the dollar at 5s. from 17s. 6d. to 22s. 6d. In the eighteenth century the gold *riō* or *kotan* was of greater fineness and probably of double value. Earlier still it was coined nearly pure. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries one *riō*, according to Mr Satow, would purchase $7\frac{1}{4}$ *koku* of rice. Tavernier puts its value at 45s. 3d. During those centuries the Dutch and Portuguese exported over 100 millions sterling of gold coin from Japan. A former Bishop of Victoria[2] (Hongkong), in his interesting *Ten Weeks in Japan* (1860), says that the *koban*, worth only 4 to 5 *ichibus* in 1858 (at the opening of the ports), was in 1860 worth 13 *ichibus*.

In Old Japan the silver-gold rate was not 15 or 16 but only about 6 or even less, hence the value of the *koku* was not 17s. 6d. to 22s. 6d. but about 10s. 6d. to 13s. 6d. The greater purchasing value of money in Old Japan must, however, be taken into consideration.

The price of rice to the consumer was probably much more than one *riō*: twice or thrice as much owing to the great cost of

[1] A finer copper cash introduced from China in the fifteenth century. The very curious history of this coin will be found in Mr Van der Polder's exhaustive account of copper coins in Japan (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xix. pt. 2) and Professor Wigmore's note thereon.

[2] The Rt. Rev. George Smith, D.D.

transport and the great loss through storage in the huge granaries the daimios had to keep filled—those of the Shogun are still to be seen in Tokio. In 1860 the *koku* seems to have been worth about 15s., it is now worth about 8 *yen* or 24s.

The cost of transport was enormous, rice that in Sendai was worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ *yen* was quoted in Tokio, only 200 miles distant by sea, at 5 *yen*. The voyage from Niigata, which was the West Coast rice centre to Osaka, distant only 800 miles, occupied from three to four months, owing to the difficult navigation; to the same port from Kumamoto the southern centre, distant 300 miles, some twenty days sufficed. As Professor Wigmore well says:[1] 'The story of the tax-rice after it left the official storehouses in the interior and started on its journey to the markets of Yedo and Osaka is the story of (Old) Japanese commerce.'

Of the best land (*jōden*) the product per acre (of 4 *tan*) was 12 *koku* of unhulled or 6 *koku* of hulled rice. Of this the Tokugawa Government took $\frac{4}{10}$ or 2·4 *koku*, the peasant kept the remainder, namely 18 bushels. The cost of seed and production was $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushel, leaving the cultivator a net product of $16\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per acre of best land. The average production, however, did not exceed 8 bushels. On Tokugawa land the peasant was much better off than on daimio land. In the daimiates indeed he was little better than a serf, and had to give half his assessed total produce to his lord. The peasantry were by no means dissatisfied with Tokugawa rule, and in the revolutionary war were generally much more favourable—as were the trading classes also—to the cause of the Shogun than to that of the daimios.

[1] *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xx., Supplement, pt. 1, p. 126. See also Report on Internal Transport (Japan), Blue-Book, No. 2 [1878].

C

The Revolution was mainly the work of four men who founded the new Japanese State—Iwakura, Kido, Okubo, and Saigo Takamori. Officially and privately Sir Harry Parkes was more or less associated with all of them up to, or nearly up to, the time of their removal by death from the political scene. The *coup d'état* by which the Bakufu was ousted from its guardianship of the Mikado's person was the work of Iwakura acting from within and Kido from without the palace. Saigo was the military director of the Imperialists during the civil war, and Okubo may be regarded as the chief promoter of those constitutional reforms which have culminated in the Constitution of 1889.

Iwakura Tomomi, a *kugé* of the Murakami Genji court clan, was born in 1835 at Kioto. At an early age he was appointed to a post that brought him into as close contact with the Mikado as was then possible. In 1858 he was one of the eighty-eight *kugé* (there were 136 *kugé* in all) who, led by the Dainagon Nakayama, opposed the request of the Gorōjiu that the Shogun might open Japan to foreign intercourse. He favoured, on the other hand, the marriage of the Shogun with a younger sister of the Mikado, and being hence suspected of Tokugawa proclivities, was exiled from the Court. He remained, however, a firm Imperialist, and kept up a connexion with Saigo, Kido, Gotō Shōjirō, and others, who desired to put an end to the supremacy of the Yedo Government. The history of the various intrigues that led to the *coup d'état* of January 1867 will probably never be known—that Iwakura and probably Sanjō played no inconsiderable part in them we may be sure. On the formation of the new Government in 1868 he was made a *gijō* or Privy Councillor. In 1871 he effected a reconciliation between Shimazu, the *de facto* Satsuma chief, and the Imperial Government then finally established at Tokio. The

next year he became Minister for Foreign Affairs; in October of the same year he was created *Udaijin* (Chief Minister), and entrusted with the charge of the important embassy despatched to America and Europe about the same time. On the return of the embassy in 1873 he found the country on the verge of war with Korea. The project met with his determined opposition, as it did with that of his colleague Okubo. In January 1874 some Tosa samurai, disappointed at the success of the peace party, waylaid him with intent to murder, and inflicted upon him severe but fortunately not fatal injuries. The assailants—nine in number—were all executed; one of them was a Satsuma man. During the later seventies Iwakura was scarcely an active politician. He died in 1883 (20th July), shortly before Sir Harry's departure from Japan.

Okubo Ichizō, or Toshi Michi, was a *kerai* of the Satsuma clan, and is said to have been born about 1829. Of his early life little is known, but he must have made himself a name as an able administrator in the clan to have attained the position he held at the outbreak of the Revolution. The political chief of the anti-Bakufu movement, after the establishment of the Imperial power he invariably showed himself opposed to any but constitutional and peaceful methods. Of the bellicose and somewhat arrogant attitude assumed by Japan towards China, in respect of Loochoo, Korea, and Formosa, in the seventies, he altogether disapproved, though he had to take part in the preparations for the Formosan raid (as a less evil than a Korean war) and in the resulting negotiations with China, in which he played an able and indeed magnanimous part. On the whole, he was the most eminent of the Revolutionary statesmen, and his assassination in 1878 sent a thrill of horror and alarm through the country.

Kido Junichiro, a *kerai* of the Choshiu daimio, was the son of a doctor, and was born about 1830. As a young man he was chiefly distinguished for his skill in fencing, and established a school in Yedo where fencing and Chinese literature were taught—a common combination of studies in Old Japan. About this time he became acquainted with a number of Mito men, and from them probably imbibed anti-Bakufu and Imperialist sentiments. When Commodore Perry appeared in the Gulf of Yedo Kido engaged himself as a porter to carry about the apparatus, etc., of the surveying parties. A bitter enemy of the Bakufu he was obliged to hide himself during the Choshiu campaign of 1864. In concert, probably, with Iwakura he seems to have planned and executed the *coup d'état* of January

1867, which drove the Tokugawa Aizu clan from Kioto and gave the western clans the supreme advantage of possession of the Mikado's person. In the reforms that culminated in the abolition of the *han* he was associated with Okubo, in common with whom, though ignorant of foreign languages, he had penetrated deeply into the secret of Western civilization. He formed part of the Iwakura Mission of 1872-1873, and on his return was made a *sangi* or privy councillor. A tall, stern looking, rather reserved man, he was scarcely popular, but of his statesman-like qualities there can be no doubt. He died 27th May 1877.

SAIGO TAKAMORI, much the most popular figure of the Revolutionary period, was a Satsuma *kerai* born in 1825. He was the soldier rather than the statesman of the Revolution, but like many, perhaps most, of those who conspired first and combined afterwards to overthrow the Shogunate, his desire was to affirm and maintain much more than to abolish the independence of the clans. For his military services he was made a field-marshal, but he never really rallied to the form of government which his countryman Okubo had so large a share in establishing. A sketch of his life, that ended so tragically on the fatal Citadel Hill of Kagoshima in 1877, has been already given;[1] a fuller narrative will be found in the late Mr. Mounsey's admirable *History of the Satsuma Rebellion*.

To the above short notices may be added a very brief one of TERASHIMA MUNÉNORI, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs during the greater part of Sir Harry Parkes' second term of service. A Satsuma samurai, Terashima was born in 1832. In his early years he studied medicine under a doctor who had been a pupil of the Dutch physician at Nagasaki (Deshima). Some time in the middle sixties, before the issue (it is believed) of the edict permitting Japanese to go abroad for purposes of study, he was sent by his daimio to London, where he remained two years. On his return he found his old lord dead and conservative opinions again preponderant. He consequently left Satsuma, changed his name to Munénori, and became a teacher of foreign languages in one of the Bakufu schools. When the Revolution broke out he warmly espoused the cause of the Mikado. His knowledge of Western affairs gained him an appointment in the Foreign Office; shortly afterwards he was made governor of Kanagawa (the district within which Yokohama is situate), and in 1872 Assistant Foreign Minister. In the same year he was sent to London as Minister Plenipotentiary,

[1] See p. 230, 231.

and returning the next year was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, a post he retained until 1879, when he was succeeded by Count Inouyé, and accepted the portfolio of education. He was afterwards raised to the Presidency of the Senate, and for a short interval served as Minister to the United States. Most of the late Treaties with foreign countries were negotiated during his term of office as Foreign Minister. In 1884 or 1885 he was created a Count, and not long afterwards retired from public life. At the time of his death, which took place 6th June 1893 at Tokio, he was a Privy Councillor and a *jiu-ni-i* or member of the lower second class of court rank. Terashima was a man of great learning and considerable ability and force of character. At an early period he saw the necessity of abandoning the system of isolation and of frankly adopting the civilization of the West. Of a genial and kindly nature, he had no enemies, and his very oddities of manner rather added to than detracted from his popularity among his own people and with foreigners.

D

WHOLE tracts of Sir Harry Parkes' activity in Japan have been scarcely more than glanced at in the preceding pages. The characteristic of a European Legation is dignified leisure: that of a Legation in the Far East endless and strenuous toil. Sir Harry was Consul-General as well as Minister, and in addition to his diplomatic work, sufficiently onerous in a country subject to the throes of revolution and reconstruction, was burdened with the charge of commercial interests and with a multitude of other duties—supervision of the different Consulates, consideration and presentation of claims[1] against the Japanese Government, settlement of administrative difficulties which were constantly cropping up, and the like, too numerous to mention. To crown all, the Legation was invaded by yearly increasing crowds of globe-trotters and bookmakers—in 1877 four hundred passports were issued for Kioto at Kobé alone—who used it as a kind of general inquiry office.

Nor was the reception and entertainment of distinguished visitors by any means a trifling consideration. We have seen how often Sir Harry opened his Legation with ready hospitality to such guests, but there has come into our hands, at the last moment, a notable proof of how fully his good offices were appreciated in high quarters. The following letter from the Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Beust, is a graceful tribute to Sir Harry's services to the Austrian Mission to Japan (mentioned above, p. 150, 151):—

> Monsieur—Le contre-amiral baron de Petz, qui fut chargé de notre mission au Japon, m'a signalé dans le temps la bienveillante sollicitude avec laquelle vous avez secondé sa tâche

[1] In the later sixties and earlier seventies especially, these were very numerous, arising chiefly out of the political changes that were then taking place. To get them into shape and procure them a fair hearing taxed the patience and resources of the Minister and his staff to the utmost.

et la généreuse hospitalité que vous avez bien voulu lui accorder ainsi qu'à sa suite.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, mon auguste Souverain, aurait désiré vous prouver sa vive approbation en vous conférant la grand' croix de l'un de ses ordres ; mais ayant été informée que les lois anglaises, qui interdisent à tout fonctionnaire public d'accepter une décoration étrangère, n'admettaient point d'exception, Sa Majesté a voulu vous témoigner sa reconnaissance sous une autre forme et m'a ordonné de vous adresser, Monsieur, l'objet ci-joint en mémoire des services utiles et obligeants que vous avez rendus à sa mission au Japon.

La statue équestre, que j'ai l'honneur de vous faire parvenir par l'entremise de notre Chargé d'Affaires Mr Calice, montre le Chevalier Saint Georges, patron de la noble nation que vous représentez si dignement aux confins du monde civilisé.

En vous transmettant cette marque d'un auguste souvenir, je vous prie, Monsieur, d'agréer également de ma part l'expression de ma gratitude bien sincère, ainsi que celle de ma considération la plus distinguée. BEUST.

Saint George terrassant le dragon
Fit moins pour l'humanité
Que ceux qui du fier Japon
Surent vaincre les préjugés.—B.

Bude, le 18 janvier 1871.

To no part of his policy could Sir Harry point with greater satisfaction than to that which from 1866 onwards governed the course of foreign commerce in Japan. That course has been one of unbroken success, save so far as the great issues of paper money, to which the necessities of the Government compelled resort during the troublous seventies, and the ordinary fluctuations of the world's trade coupled with the depreciation of silver, have interfered with the national prosperity. Some account, therefore, of Japanese trade, brief as it must be through lack of space and imperfect through lack of materials, will not be devoid of interest.[1]

Before Sir Harry's arrival in Japan (July 1865) trade statistics were both meagre and untrustworthy. Up to the close of the Shogunate—and indeed for some time after—trade was greatly hampered by Government interference, chiefly in the shape of official guilds, through whom alone produce reached the market.

[1] Most of the information contained in the following sketch has been kindly furnished by Mr Arthur Winstanley, sometime President of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce.

From 1865 onwards foreign commerce gradually improved, and imports arrived direct instead of through China, as had previously been the case. In the great Yokohama fire of 1866 the custom house records were destroyed, but from other sources Sir Harry was able to gather that during that year the exports amounted to $12,123,674 and the imports to $18,476,330. The following returns, taken from the *Chronicle and Directory for China and Japan*, show the development of trade up to 1890.

	Imports.	Exports.
1873 . .	$27,444,068	$20,660,994
1875 . .	$29,467,067	$18,014,890
1880 . .	$36,662,243	$27,419,629
1881 . .	$30,942,442	$30,328,607
1882 . .	$29,300,724	$37,246,029
1890 . .	$81,728,580	$56,603,506

The total number of foreign residents, exclusive of Chinese, was estimated in 1882 at 2650, of whom 1200 were of British nationality. In 1890 the number had increased to 3260, of which 1400 were British subjects.[1] It is worth recording that in 1864 the dollar was quoted at six months' sight exchange at 5s. 1d. It is now worth less than half-a-crown.

Foreign commerce is still governed by the Tariff Convention of 1866, due to the energy of Sir Harry Parkes. Under that convention valuations were made on which fixed duties were calculated, and both still hold good with the result that, on the whole, the tariff has in effect become modified in a sense favourable to Japan.

Some observations on the above figures will not be out of place. Up to 1881 the balance of trade—to use common but very incorrect language—was against Japan. Taking the figures for the seven years 1873-1879,[2] the totals are—imports, $197,181,030, against exports, $161,871,503, showing apparently a large difference against Japan. With respect to such differences, which greatly alarmed the Japanese and infuriated their American protectionist advisers, Sir Harry's comments may be quoted from his summary of the Consular Trade Reports for the year 1878. He says :—

> According to these returns Japan has sold to foreign countries since 1860 produce to the amount of $300,108,672. . . . She has received foreign merchandise in exchange to the

[1] The Chinese have steadily increased in number. In 1877 there were only 2107 Chinese residents in Japan, in 1879 there were 3649.

[2] From the Consular Trade Reports.

value of $323,134,873, the difference in favour of imports being $23,026,201. The actual existence of this difference, however, depends upon the way in which the valuations have been computed. But assuming that they fairly represent the relative values of the exports and imports, it should be observed that the imports include . . . arms and ammunition and goods or articles imported by the Government (and daimios). . . . These two items (for the years 1873-1878), which there is reason to believe are greatly undervalued, amount to $7,364,490, and if returns of Government goods were obtainable for the seven years previous to 1873 it would probably be found that the above-mentioned difference is fully accounted for.[1]

As to the considerable export of bullion which took place during these years, Sir Harry points out that much of it was due to Government expenditure on railway plant, ships of war, etc., to the payment of interest on foreign loans, to providing for the maintenance of Legations and Consulates, and to the large issues of paper money. Sharing the general opinion of the time that Japan was a poor country, Sir Harry was an advocate of the introduction of foreign capital to develop her resources. But Japan has proved herself to be possessed of more wealth than was supposed, and has raised by far the greater portion of the money she has required from her own people, the foreign debt being quite insignificant.

On foreign tonnage nothing precise can be said. Probably, if subsidized tonnage be excluded, much more than half of the total will be found to be British. In 1890 the tonnage of British shipping was 871,851 out of a total of 1,654,895, including subsidized tonnage. No subsidized British steamers enter the Japanese ports. In 1867 the total tonnage was 298,000, of which 138,000 was British.

Though the Consular Reports on Trade are very full and contain an immense amount of valuable information, they are not, unfortunately, so drawn up as to afford all the help the statistician would desire. A better model could be devised without difficulty. In their present form the reports scarcely serve for the elucidation (under no conditions an easy task) of the course of Japanese foreign trade. Sir Harry's summaries, however, are always interesting, and in some of the volumes very curious examples are given of the progress of native views on commerce

[1] It may be added that goods imported for the use of foreigners during these thirteen years, the value of which must have been very considerable, ought not to be included among the trade imports.

during the eventful years of revolution and reconstruction. KATO SAKEICHI'S *Scattered Remarks on Commerce* (Osaka Consular Report, 1869, p. 112) and the *Conversations of Gwanroku and Saisuke* (p. 134) may be mentioned as particularly amusing and, from an historical point of view, instructive specimens of Japanese political economy in its earlier stages.

Imperfect as they are the statistics cited show clearly enough the utter failure of protectionist predictions, and demonstrate the immense progress made by Japan under the commercial system established by the Tariff Convention of 1866, and under the policy, external and internal, initiated or supported by Sir Harry during the revolutionary period, a policy maintained in all essential points to the present day by the whole of the Treaty Powers.[1]

[1] Through the kindness of Mr S. Samuel, of the well-known firm of M. Samuel and Co., I am enabled to add some particulars of rice exportation from Japan that are of special interest to economists :—

1884 . . .	56,246 tons.	1889 . . .	163,800 tons.
1885 . . .	9,600 ,,	1890 . . .	7,000 ,,
1886 . . .	51,670 ,,	1891 . . .	80,000 ,,
1887 . . .	33,200 ,,	1892 . . .	44,794 ,,
1888 . . .	144,500 ,,	1893 . . .	67,586 ,,

E

To note 1, page 17, should be added:—In his interesting Report on Japanese Education (Rep. by H. M. Secretaries of Embassy and Legation, Commercial, No. 16, 1874) the late Mr. R. G. Watson says, p. 86: 'The tendency of the whole system of education carried on among the Japanese themselves is to magnify the memory of things imparted through the senses and minify the reasoning powers.' 'What,' says Mr Brinkley (afterwards Captain Brinkley, R.A., now editor of the *Japan Mail*, a fine Japanese scholar), 'could be more completely technical than the acquisition of 10,000 hieroglyphics by sound and sight without a knowledge of the meaning of one.'

The following passage from Mr Satow's translation of the *Gwaishi*, a native history published in 1827, shows the freedom with which the Shogunate was criticized in works of that character: 'The Genji [the Minamoto family to which the founder of the Shogunate, Yoritomo, belonged] pretended to subdue violence and turbulence, but in reality only robbed the Emperor [Mikado] of his authority.'

F

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF KOREA [1]

Signed at Hanyang, 26th November 1883
[*Ratifications exchanged at Hanyang, 28th April* 1884]

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and His Majesty the King of Korea, being sincerely desirous of establishing permanent relations of friendship and commerce between their respective dominions, have resolved to conclude a Treaty for that purpose, and have therefore named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, Sir Harry Smith Parkes, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of China;

His Majesty the King of Korea, Min Yŏng-Mok, President of His Majesty's Foreign Office, a Dignitary of the First Rank, Senior Vice-President of the Council of State, Member of His Majesty's Privy Council, and Junior Guardian of the Crown Prince;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

[1] In the Blue-Book the name is spelt 'Corea.'

ARTICLE I

1. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, her heirs and successors, and His Majesty the King of Korea, his heirs and successors, and between their respective dominions and subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other.

2. In case of differences arising between one of the High Contracting Parties and a third Power, the other High Contracting Party, if requested to do so, shall exert its good offices to bring about an amicable arrangement.

ARTICLE II

1. The High Contracting Parties may each appoint a Diplomatic Representative to reside permanently or temporarily at the capital of the other, and may appoint a Consul-General, Consuls, or Vice-Consuls, to reside at any or all of the ports or places of the other which are open to foreign commerce. The Diplomatic Representatives and Consular functionaries of both countries shall freely enjoy the same facilities for communication, personally or in writing, with the authorities of the country where they respectively reside, together with all other privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by Diplomatic or Consular functionaries in other countries.

2. The Diplomatic Representative and the Consular functionaries of each Power and the members of their official establishments shall have the right to travel freely in any part of the dominions of the other, and the Korean authorities shall furnish passports to such British officers travelling in Korea, and shall provide such escort for their protection as may be necessary.

3. The Consular officers of both countries shall exercise their functions on receipt of due authorization from the Sovereign or Government of the country in which they respectively reside, and shall not be permitted to engage in trade.

ARTICLE III

1. Jurisdiction over the persons and property of British subjects in Korea shall be vested exclusively in the duly authorized British judicial authorities, who shall hear and de-

termine all cases brought against British subjects by any British or other foreign subject or citizen without the intervention of the Korean authorities.

2. If the Korean authorities or a Korean subject make any charge or complaint against a British subject in Korea, the case shall be heard and decided by the British judicial authorities.

3. If the British authorities or a British subject make any charge or complaint against a Korean subject in Korea, the case shall be heard and decided by the Korean authorities.

4. A British subject who commits any offence in Korea shall be tried and punished by the British judicial authorities according to the laws of Great Britain.

5. A Korean subject who commits in Korea any offence against a British subject shall be tried and punished by the Korean authorities according to the laws of Korea.

6. Any complaint against a British subject involving a penalty or confiscation by reason of any breach either of this Treaty or of any regulation annexed thereto, or of any regulation that may hereafter be made in virtue of its provisions, shall be brought before the British judicial authorities for decision, and any penalty imposed, and all property confiscated in such cases, shall belong to the Korean Government.

7. British goods, when seized by the Korean authorities at an open port, shall be put under the seals of the Korean and the British Consular authorities, and shall be detained by the former until the British judicial authorities shall have given their decision. If this decision is in favour of the owner of the goods, they shall be immediately placed at the Consul's disposal. But the owner shall be allowed to receive them at once on depositing their value with the Korean authorities pending the decision of the British judicial authorities.

8. In all cases, whether civil or criminal, tried either in Korean or British Courts in Korea, a properly authorized official of the nationality of the plaintiff or prosecutor shall be allowed to attend the hearing, and shall be treated with the courtesy due to his position. He shall be allowed, whenever he thinks it necessary, to call, examine, and cross-examine witnesses, and to protest against the proceedings or decision.

9. If a Korean subject who is charged with an offence against the laws of his country takes refuge on premises occupied by a British subject, or on board a British merchant-vessel, the British Consular authorities, on receiving an application from the Korean authorities, shall take steps to have such

person arrested and handed over to the latter for trial. But, without the consent of the proper British Consular authority, no Korean officer shall enter the premises of any British subject without his consent, or go on board any British ship without the consent of the officer in charge.

10. On the demand of any competent British Consular authority, the Korean authorities shall arrest and deliver to the former any British subject charged with a criminal offence, and any deserter from a British ship of war or merchant-vessel.

Article IV

1. The ports of Chemulpo (Jenchuan), Wönsan (Gensan), and Pusan (Fusan), or, if the latter port should not be approved, then such other port as may be selected in its neighbourhood, together with the city of Hanyang and of the town of Yanghwa Chin, or such other place in that neighbourhood, as may be deemed desirable, shall, from the day on which this Treaty comes into operation, be opened to British commerce.

2. At the above-named places British subjects shall have the right to rent or to purchase land or houses, and to erect dwellings, warehouses, and factories. They shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion. All arrangements for the selection, determination of the limits, and laying out of the sites of the foreign Settlements, and for the sale of land at the various ports and places in Korea open to foreign trade, shall be made by the Korean authorities in conjunction with the competent foreign authorities.

3. These sites shall be purchased from the owners and prepared for occupation by the Korean Government, and the expense thus incurred shall be a first charge on the proceeds of the sale of the land. The yearly rental agreed upon by the Korean authorities in conjunction with the foreign authorities shall be paid to the former, who shall retain a fixed amount thereof as a fair equivalent for the land tax, and the remainder, together with any balance left from the proceeds of land sales, shall belong to a municipal fund to be administered by a Council, the constitution of which shall be determined hereafter by the Korean authorities in conjunction with the competent foreign authorities.

4. British subjects may rent or purchase land or houses beyond the limits of the foreign Settlements, and within a distance of 10 Korean *li* from the same. But all land so occupied shall be subject to such conditions as to the observance of

Korean local regulations and payment of land tax as the Korean authorities may see fit to impose.

5. The Korean authorities will set apart, free of cost, at each of the places open to trade, a suitable piece of ground as a foreign cemetery, upon which no rent, land tax, or other charges shall be payable, and the management of which shall be left to the Municipal Council above mentioned.

6. British subjects shall be allowed to go where they please without passports within a distance of 100 Korean *li* from any of the ports and places open to trade, or within such limits as may be agreed upon between the competent authorities of both countries. British subjects are also authorized to travel in Korea for pleasure or for purposes of trade, to transport and sell goods of all kinds, except books and other printed matter disapproved of by the Korean Government, and to purchase native produce in all parts of the country under passports which will be issued by their Consuls and countersigned or sealed by the Korean local authorities. These passports, if demanded, must be produced for examination in the districts passed through. If the passport be not irregular, the bearer will be allowed to proceed, and he shall be at liberty to procure such means of transport as he may require. Any British subject travelling beyond the limits above named without a passport, or committing when in the interior any offence, shall be arrested and handed over to the nearest British Consul for punishment. Travelling without a passport beyond the said limits will render the offender liable to a fine not exceeding 100 Mexican dollars, with or without imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month.

7. British subjects in Korea shall be amenable to such municipal, police, and other regulations for the maintenance of peace, order, and good government as may be agreed upon by the competent authorities of the two countries.

Article V

1. At each of the ports or places open to foreign trade, British subjects shall be at full liberty to import from any foreign port, or from any Korean open port, to sell to or to buy from any Korean subjects or others, and to export to any foreign or Korean open port, all kinds of merchandise not prohibited by this Treaty, on paying the duties of the Tariff annexed thereto. They may freely transact their business with Korean subjects or others without the intervention of Korean officials or other persons, and they may freely engage in any industrial occupation.

2. The owners or consignees of all goods imported from any foreign port upon which the duty of the aforesaid Tariff shall have been paid shall be entitled, on re-exporting the same to any foreign port at any time within thirteen Korean months from the date of importation, to receive a drawback certificate for the amount of such import duty, provided that the original packages containing such goods remain intact. These drawback certificates shall either be redeemed by the Korean Customs on demand, or they shall be received in payment of duty at any Korean open port.

3. The duty paid on Korean goods, when carried from one Korean open port to another, shall be refunded at the port of shipment on production of a Customs certificate showing that the goods have arrived at the port of destination, or on satisfactory proof being produced of the loss of the goods by shipwreck.

4. All goods imported into Korea by British subjects, and on which the duty of the Tariff annexed to this Treaty shall have been paid, may be conveyed to any Korean open port free of duty, and, when transported into the interior, shall not be subject to any additional tax, excise or transit duty whatsoever in any part of the country. In like manner, full freedom shall be allowed for the transport to the open ports of all Korean commodities intended for exportation, and such commodities shall not, either at the place of production or when being conveyed from any part of Korea to any of the open ports, be subject to the payment of any tax, excise or transit duty whatsoever.

5. The Korean Government may charter British merchant-vessels for the conveyance of goods or passengers to unopened ports in Korea, and Korean subjects shall have the same right, subject to the approval of their own authorities.

6. Whenever the Government of Korea shall have reason to apprehend a scarcity of food within the kingdom, His Majesty the King of Korea may, by Decree, temporarily prohibit the export of grain to foreign countries from any or all of the Korean open ports, and such prohibition shall become binding on British subjects in Korea on the expiration of one month from the date on which it shall have been officially communicated by the Korean authorities to the British Consul at the port concerned, but shall not remain longer in force than is absolutely necessary.

7. All British ships shall pay tonnage dues at the rate of 30 cents (Mexican) per register ton. One such payment will entitle a vessel to visit any or all of the open ports in Korea during a period of four months without further charge. All tonnage dues

shall be appropriated for the purposes of erecting lighthouses and beacons, and placing buoys on the Korean coast, more especially at the approaches to the open ports, and in deepening or otherwise improving the anchorages. No tonnage dues shall be charged on boats employed at the open ports in landing or shipping cargo.

8. In order to carry into effect and secure the observance of the provisions of this Treaty, it is hereby agreed that the Tariff and Trade Regulations hereto annexed shall come into operation simultaneously with this Treaty. The competent authorities of the two countries may, from time to time, revise the said Regulations with a view to the insertion therein, by mutual consent, of such modifications or additions as experience shall prove to be expedient.

Article VI

Any British subject who smuggles, or attempts to smuggle, goods into any Korean port or place not open to foreign trade shall forfeit twice the value of such goods, and the goods shall be confiscated. The Korean local authorities may seize such goods, and may arrest any British subject concerned in such smuggling or attempt to smuggle. They shall immediately forward any person so arrested to the nearest British Consul for trial by the proper British judicial authority, and may detain such goods until the case shall have been finally adjudicated.

Article VII

1. If a British ship be wrecked or stranded on the coast of Korea, the local authorities shall immediately take such steps to protect the ship and her cargo from plunder, and all the persons belonging to her from ill-treatment, and to render such other assistance as may be required. They shall at once inform the nearest British Consul of the occurrence, and shall furnish the shipwrecked persons, if necessary, with means of conveyance to the nearest open port.

2. All expenses incurred by the Government of Korea for the rescue, clothing, maintenance, and travelling of shipwrecked British subjects, for the recovery of the bodies of the drowned, for the medical treatment of the sick and injured, and for the burial of the dead, shall be repaid by the British Government to that of Korea.

3. The British Government shall not be responsible for the repayment of the expenses incurred in the recovery or preserva-

tion of a wrecked vessel, or the property belonging to her. All such expenses shall be a charge upon the property saved, and shall be paid by the parties interested therein upon receiving delivery of the same.

4. No charge shall be made by the Government of Korea for the expenses of the Government officers, local functionaries, or police who shall proceed to the wreck, for the travelling expenses of officers escorting the shipwrecked men, nor for the expenses of official correspondence. Such expenses shall be borne by the Korean Government.

5. Any British merchant-ship compelled by stress of weather or by want of fuel or provisions to enter an unopened port in Korea shall be allowed to execute repairs, and to obtain necessary supplies. All such expenses shall be defrayed by the master of the vessel.

Article VIII

1. The ships of war of each country shall be at liberty to visit all the ports of the other. They shall enjoy every facility for procuring supplies of all kinds, or for making repairs, and shall not be subject to trade or harbour regulations, nor be liable to the payment of duties or port charges of any kind.

2. When British ships of war visit unopened ports in Korea, the officers and men may land, but shall not proceed into the interior unless they are provided with passports.

3. Supplies of all kinds for the use of the British navy may be landed at the open ports of Korea, and stored in the custody of a British officer, without the payment of any duty. But if any such supplies are sold, the purchaser shall pay the proper duty to the Korean authorities.

4. The Korean Government will afford all the facilities in their power to ships belonging to the British Government which may be engaged in making surveys in Korean waters.

Article IX

1. The British authorities and British subjects in Korea shall be allowed to employ Korean subjects as teachers, interpreters, servants, or in any other lawful capacity, without any restriction on the part of the Korean authorities; and, in like manner, no restrictions shall be placed upon the employment of British subjects by Korean authorities and subjects in any lawful capacity.

2. Subjects of either nationality who may proceed to the country of the other to study its language, literature, laws, arts,

or industries, or for the purpose of scientific research, shall be afforded every reasonable facility for doing so.

Article X

It is hereby stipulated that the Government, public officers, and subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall, from the day on which this Treaty comes into operation, participate in all privileges, immunities, and advantages, especially in relation to import or export duties on goods and manufactures, which shall then have been granted or may thereafter be granted by His Majesty the King of Korea to the Government, public officers, or subjects of any other Power.

Article XI

Ten years from the date on which this Treaty shall come into operation, either of the High Contracting Parties may, on giving one year's previous notice to the other, demand a revision of the Treaty or of the Tariff annexed thereto, with a view to the insertion therein, by mutual consent, of such modifications as experience shall prove to be desirable.

Article XII

1. This Treaty is drawn up in the English and Chinese languages, both of which versions have the same meaning, but it is hereby agreed that any difference which may arise as to interpretation shall be determined by reference to the English text.

2. For the present all official communications addressed by the British authorities to those of Korea shall be accompanied by a translation into Chinese.

Article XIII

The present Treaty shall be ratified by Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and by His Majesty the King of Korea, under their hands and seals; the ratifications shall be exchanged at Hanyang (Söul) as soon as possible, or at latest within one year from the date of signature, and the Treaty, which shall be published by both Governments, shall come into operation on the day on which the ratifications are exchanged.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries above

named have signed the present Treaty, and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done in triplicate at Hanyang, this twenty-sixth day of November, in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-three, corresponding to the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the four hundred and ninety-second year of the Korean era, being the ninth year of the Chinese reign Kuang Hsü.

(L.S.) HARRY S. PARKES.
(L.S.) Signature in Chinese of MIN YÖNG-MOK, the Korean Plenipotentiary.

GLOSSARY

OF SOME JAPANESE TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS

Bakufu, *lit.* headquarters—government. The Government of the Shogun which came to an end in 1868.

Betté, special guard appointed for protection of foreigners up to 1870 or 1871.

Bettō, a groom or sais.

Bu, *lit.* one part or quarter (of a *riō*), the coin usually known as *ichibu*, *q.v.*

Bugiō, a governor, vice-governor, or commissioner.

Buké, the samurai, *q.v.*

Chihanji, prefect of a *han*:—the *daimios*, on giving up their fiefs to the Mikado, were so called, the term *daimio* being abolished.

Daijō-daijin, the Chief Minister at the Imperial Court of Old Japan, and for some time of New Japan.

Daijōkwan, Council of State under the constitution of Old Japan, and for some time under the constitution of New Japan.

Daikwan, a provincial intendant under the Shogun's government.

Daimio, a feudal baron, lord of a territory, province, or district, under the overlordship of the Shogun.

Daishin In, the Supreme Court of Justice in the seventies.

Fudai, vassals of the Shogun.

Genrō In, Council of Elders or Senate, instituted during the seventies but now abolished.

Gijō, sort of Privy Councillor under the constitution of 1868.

Go, an honorific term (Imperial, Royal), often translated 'august,' 'exalted,' etc. **Gorōjiu,** the Hon. Council of Elders. **Go San-ké,** the Exalted Three Families. Frequently it merely means 'appertaining to the Government.'

Gongen. See p. 229, note.

Gorōjiu, the Council of State under the Shogun.

Go San-ké, the Three Families from which alone the Shogun could be selected. But see p. 9.

Hama-Goten, *lit.* Imperial Palace by the shore (Tokio), often used for the reception of foreigners of distinction. Originally the Shogun's seaside garden.

Han, *lit.* a palisade or defence; the usual translation is 'clan,' comprising the whole body of persons subject to the jurisdiction of a daimio.

Harakiri, self-disembowelment, the 'happy despatch' of English authors. The more polite term was the Sinico-Japanese *seppuku.*

Hatamoto. See Appendix (A).

Hatoba, a jetty or pier.

Heimin, the commonalty, or a commoner.

Ichibu, a coin of Old Japan was so called, the quarter of a *riō* or *koban.* See p. 115, 116.

Ji, a Sinico-Japanese term meaning monastery (temple), thus Sengaku-ji, the monastery of Sengaku.

Jōi, a Sinico-Japanese term, *lit.* to clear out foreigners—the name of the anti-foreign party up to 1868, perhaps to a later period.

Kami, a lord of a territory or province—thus *Satsuma no Kami,* Lord of Satsuma. Such titles in course of time became often merely honorary. Also chief of an office, as *Kamon no Kami, q.v.*

Kamon, a court office that early became a dignity without duties. Mr Gubbins translates Kamon no Kami 'Minister entrusted with the duty of keeping the Imperial Palace and grounds in order.'

Kan-go, Chinese vocables and compounds introduced into the Japanese language—in other words Sinico-Japanese expressions. Mr Gubbins has published an admirable dictionary of them containing some 25,000 words.

Karō, *lit.* house-elder—the hereditary councillors of a daimio. They were themselves advised by subordinate, often hereditary, councillors.

Kazoku or Kwazoku, *lit.* flowery families. The new nobility founded on the abolition of the daimiates. There are five ranks, two of which have awkwardly enough the same Sinico-Japanese names, though differently written. These ranks are *kō,* duke or prince; *kō,* marquis; *haku,* count; *shi,* viscount; *dan,* baron.

Kenrei, chief of a *ken* or prefecture, prefect.

Kerai, the superior retainers of a daimio.

Kinnō, *lit.* fidelity to the Sovereign (Mikado)—the designation of the Imperialist party before and during the civil war.

Kinsatsu, paper money.

Koban, a *riō,* a gold coin of Old Japan. See Appendix (B).

Koku, a measure of capacity, about one-sixth of a ton (measurement). See Appendix (B).

Kokushiu, a lord of a territory—designation of eighteen (or twenty-one) of the highest daimios.

Kugé, Court nobility as distinguished from the feudal baronage (daimios).

Kwambaku, under the constitution of Old Japan the regent was so called after the Emperor had attained his majority. The office was abolished in 1868.

Kwantō, the eight provinces lying east (*tō*) of the Hakoné barrier (*kwan*). They constituted the domain of the Tokugawa Shoguns. In earlier times the provinces east of the Zezé pass in Ōmi were so called.

Metsuké, inspector, censor. The duties of these officers under the Shogunate were varied and important. The Ō, or chief metsuké, five in number, had charge of the eight great highways and of traffic and travellers generally. In addition they superintended the taking of the census and regulated ceremonial matters. They had jurisdiction over the marriages of vassals and underlords, and controlled these and all officers of the Shogun in the execution of their respective duties. They also controlled each other. Finally, they were responsible for the due performance every year at Nagasaki of the *yefumi* or public trampling on the Christian Cross. Fourteen ordinary *metsuké* assisted them, and a crowd of *Kachi metsuké* or political spies furnished them with information.

Mikado, *lit.* the Exalted Gate or Palace—Sublime Porte. The Japanese usually term their Emperor Tennō, *q.v.*

Nanushi, the head-man of a village.

Nembuts, a Buddhist prayer formula.

Nengō, in Japanese chronology a year-period comprising one or several years. They were instituted in 645 A.D., and were known by Sinico-Japanese names. Thus the first was *taikwa* (Great Development), the present one is *meiji* (Illustrious Rule). Since 1868 the *nengō* are conterminous with the period of one Imperial reign.

Reiheishi, up to 1868 or 1869 a dignitary so called was sent yearly from the Kiotō Court to Nikkō to offer up *gohei* (symbolic slips of paper curiously cut) at the shrines of the Tokugawas.

Riō. See *koban*.

Rōnin, *lit.* wave-men, masterless men, *samurai* dismissed from a clan.

Sadaijin, the Minister next to the *Daijō-daijin*, *q.v.*

Sa-In, a department of Government under one of the former constitutions of New Japan.

Samurai, the two-sworded retainers of a daimio, also generally the whole military class.
Sangi, Privy Councillor.
Sanyo, Subordinate Councillor, under the constitution of 1868.
Seppuku, synonym of *harakiri*, *q.v.*
Shimbun, news, a newspaper.
Shimpei, Imperial bodyguard.
Shintō, *lit.* way of the gods, the indigenous religion of Japan. Buddhism is known as *Buttō*, way of Buddha, or *Buppō*, doctrine or law of Buddha.
Shizoku, modern designation of the samurai.
Shogun, General-in-Chief, Imperator, the title of the *de facto* rulers of Japan up to 1868.
Shōya, synonym of *nanushi*, *q.v.*
Sōsai, office under the constitution of 1868. Mr Satow calls the holder of it 'Supreme Administrator.'

Taikun (Tycoon), synonym of Shogun.
Tairō, Regent at Yedo during the minority of the Shogun.
Tempo, an oblong-oval coin with a square hole in the centre, first issued in the middle thirties during the *nengō* so called. It was made of an alloy of copper, lead, and tin. Originally 40 *tempos* went to the *riō;* at the present day about 125 *tempos* are worth one *yen.*
Tennō, Heavenly Ruler, the more usual title (in Japan) of the Mikado.
Tenshi, synonym of Mikado.
Tokugawa, family name of the Shoguns, successors of Iyeyasu.
Tycoon. See Taikun, Shogun.

Udaijin, under the constitution of Old Japan, the (Imperial) Minister next in rank to Sadaijin.
Ukiō no Suké, under the constitution of Old Japan, Deputy-Governor of Kioto.
Unemé no Shō, in the Kioto Court of Old Japan, the under-superintendant of the women-servants of the Palace.
Unshiu, the province of Izumo.

Yakunin, *lit.* official, a term commonly applied by foreigners to all two-sworded men.
Yashiki, a daimio's mansion.
Yen, the Japanese dollar.
Yu-In, a department of the Government under one of the former constitutions of New Japan.

Wakadoshiyori, *lit.* junior elders—a council subordinate to the Gorō-jiu, *q.v.*

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